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August 2015



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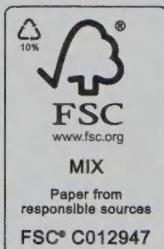
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Published in cooperation with the
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At the Center of Everything: Regional Rivalries, Imperial Politics, and the Mapping of the Mosetenes Frontier in Late Colonial Bolivia

Heidi V. Scott

Abstract The late colonial mapping of frontiers in the eastern Andes of Charcas (colonial Bolivia) has been neglected both in scholarship on frontier mapping, which overlooks this region, and historical studies of frontier formation in Charcas, which pay little attention to cartography. This article examines a set of maps made by a midlevel colonial official in 1797 amid efforts to open a road from Chulumani district in the Intendancy of La Paz to the Franciscan mission of Mosetenes. The article advances understandings of the material and imaginative interconnectedness of frontiers in Charcas by highlighting regional rivalries in frontier colonization and demonstrating how the piedmont regions were given meaning in relation to other, more distant lowland frontiers. Additionally, by comparing the 1797 maps with a map of Chulumani district made by the same individual in 1810, the essay demonstrates how the Mosetenes frontier was resignified in the wake of the 1809 political upheavals.

Introduction

In 1797, Joaquín Revuelta Velarde, *subdelegado*¹ of Chulumani district in the Intendancy of La Paz, produced three maps and a report detailing his efforts to open a route to the territories of the Mosetenes, an indigenous group that inhabited the upper reaches of the Río Beni in the Audiencia de Charcas (the present-day Bolivian Amazon). The first map—the only one sent to Spain—roughly sketches the districts of Chulumani and Larecaja and the adjacent

I convey my gratitude to two anonymous reviewers for their detailed and constructive comments as well to Sean Mannion and the journal editors. I thank colleagues for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article presented at the Five College History Seminar, Amherst College, in March 2013. Thanks are also due to the British Academy and to UMass Amherst for funding that allowed me to conduct a significant part of the archival and library research on which this article is founded.

1. These crown officials were responsible for the administration of *partidos* (districts) and were subordinate to the intendant (*gobernador intendente*) of the province to which their district belonged.

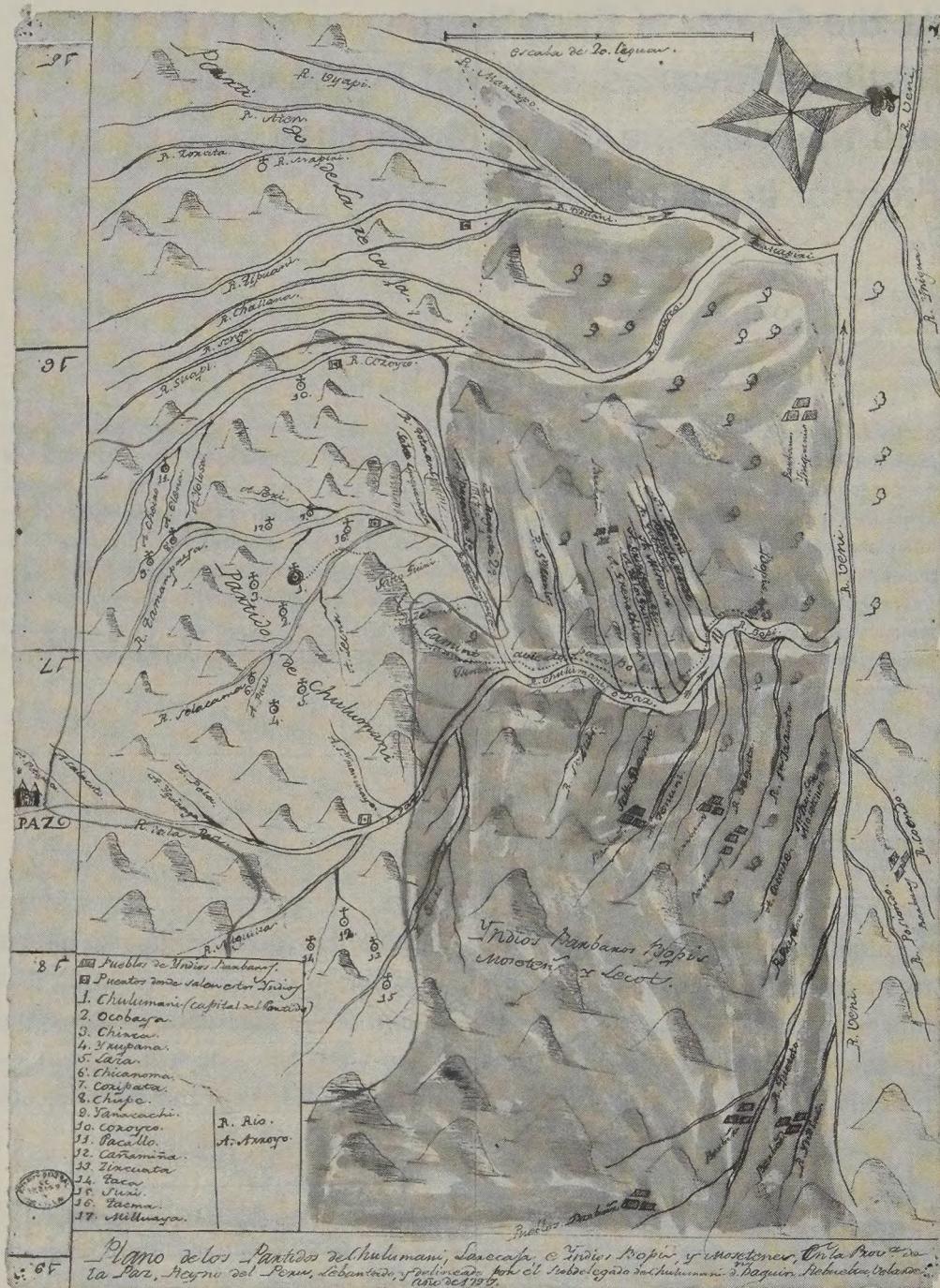


Figure 1. "Plano de los Partidos de Chulumani, Larecaja, e Indios Bopis, y Mosetenés, en la Provincia de La Paz," 1797. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires, 200.

frontier regions that lay beyond the sphere of colonial control (figure 1). The second map, a topographic map drawn at a larger scale, marks Revuelta's road to the tropical lowlands as well as the site of Franciscan missions that were to benefit from this route (figure 2). The third, chorographic map, meanwhile, locates Chulumani and the missionary frontier in a gigantic expanse of territory that comprises the entire western portion of the Amazon basin from Quito to the tropical frontiers of Charcas (figure 3).² In 1810, 13 years after his first road-opening expedition to the Mosetenés missions, Revuelta drew a new map of Chulumani district (figure 4).

Revuelta's efforts to put the Mosetenés territories on the map did not bring about a permanent Franciscan presence on the frontier, for by 1800 the mission, founded in 1790, had been abandoned. Nevertheless, his endeavors to map a remote internal frontier reflect the increasingly prominent role of cartography and cartographic literacy in the everyday functioning of the late Bourbon regime. Along with other late colonial maps of the eastern Andes, however, Revuelta's cartographic archive has slipped through the cracks between recent historical scholarship on frontier mapping, which focuses mostly on Spanish America's external frontiers, and the work of historians who examine frontier dynamics in the eastern Andes but do not attend to cartographic practices.

Existing studies of frontier mapping predominantly focus on northern New Spain and the imperial boundaries of Spanish America and Brazil, for these regions yield particularly rich cartographic records thanks to their geo-political significance in the late eighteenth century.³ This scholarship can be enriched, however, by looking beyond these regions to examine the mapping of secondary frontiers that were never a focus of major cartographic surveys and by attending not only to the cartographic practices of military engineers and missionaries but also to the mapping activities of crown officials in the late colonial intendancies. This case study of how Revuelta deployed maps and mapmaking in pursuit of particular ambitions demonstrates the growing relevance of cartographic culture within the intendancy system, even on a remote internal frontier.

2. Both this and the preceding map are embedded in a file of documents relating to the Mosetenés missions. In correspondence with the viceroy of Río de la Plata, the intendant of La Paz noted that the maps accompanied Revuelta's written report. See "El Gobernador Intendente de La Paz informa sobre ser una sola la reducción de Mosetenés," Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires (hereafter cited as AGN), Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3.

3. See Ferreira, "O conhecimento"; Moncada Maya, *Fronteras*; Río Sadornil, "Don Francisco."

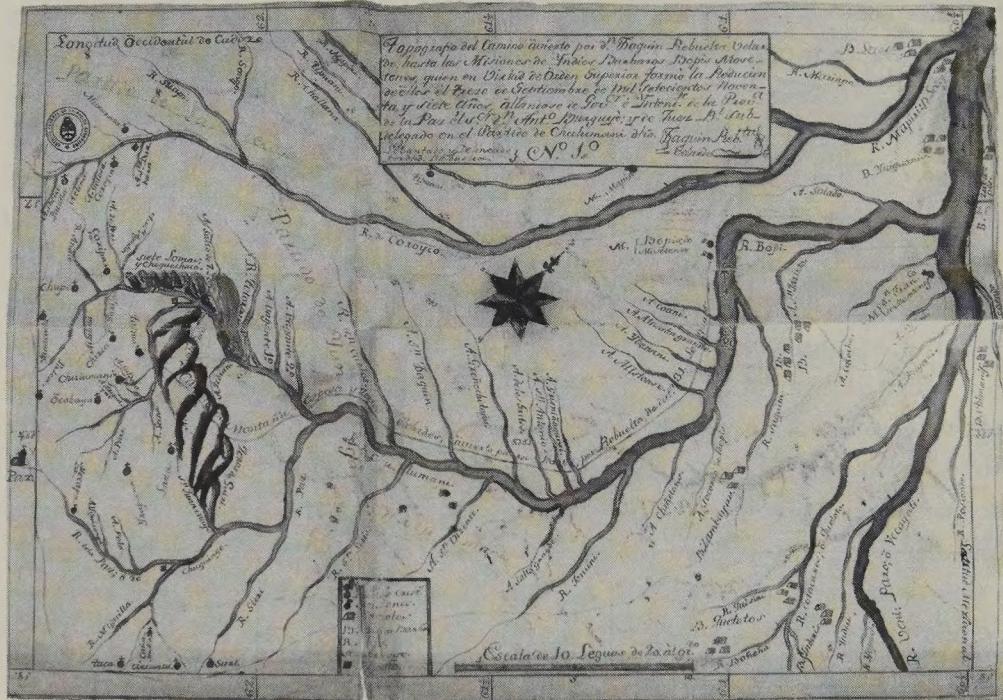


Figure 2. "Topografia del camino abierto por D.n Joaquin Rebuelta Velarde, hasta las Misiones de Indios Barbaros Bopis Mosetenenses," 1797. Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3.

Bourbon-era mapmaking activities in the eastern Andean piedmont deserve closer scholarly attention for reasons that go beyond filling a small geographical gap in the literature on frontier mapping. As my opening description of Revuelta's maps hints, the official did not portray Mosetenenes in isolation. Beyond emphasizing local resources in Mosetenenes territory, he attributed significance to his road venture by stressing both regional rivalries between La Paz and Cochabamba and the centrality of Chulumani and Mosetenenes in terms of their connection to other, more distant frontiers. Revuelta's maps therefore have relevance for advancing understandings of the material and imaginative interconnectedness of frontiers in the piedmont as well as in the wider tropical lowlands of Charcas.

In addition, Revuelta's shift in purpose over the 13 years separating his first and last map provides insight into the shifting challenges facing the Spanish empire and the cartographic resignification of Chulumani and the Mosetenenes frontier. Bridging the temporal divide between the late colonial period and the early revolutionary era, these maps offer rare insight into how a colonial official turned loyalist army captain re-presented a territory. Pathways and waterways

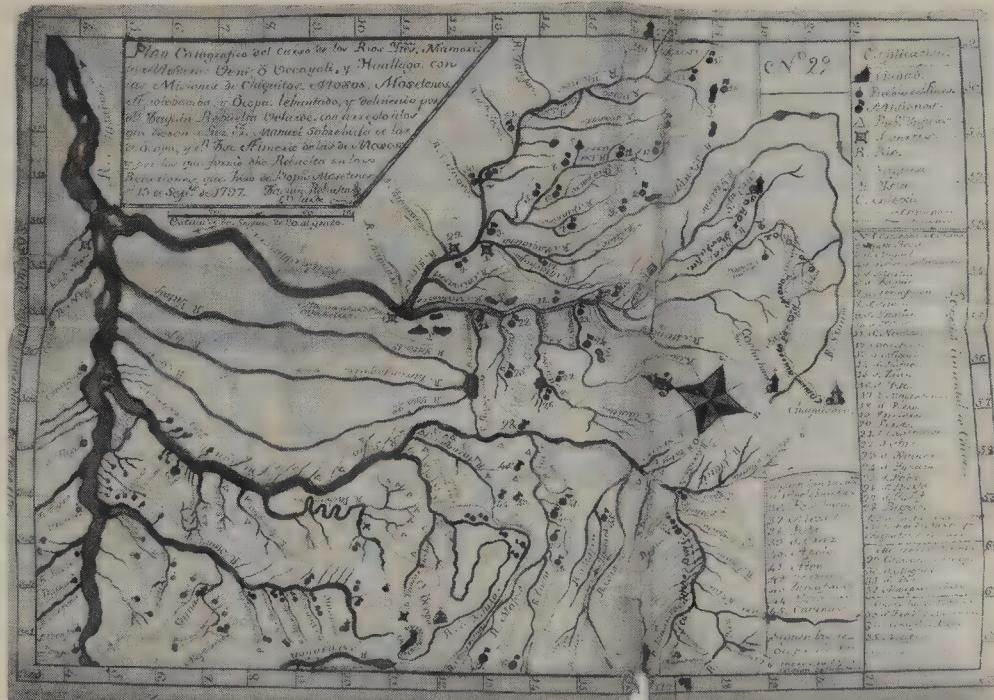


Figure 3. "Plan corografico del curso de los Ríos Yenes; Mamore; la Madera; Veni, o Uccayali y Huallaga: con las misiones de Chiquitos, Moxos, Mosetenés, Apolobamba, y Ocupa," 1797. Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3.

first promoted as good for movement via Chulumani in order to consolidate the Amazon frontiers were later represented as potential threats unless sealed off from the perilous mobilities of antiloyalist rebels. Before attending to Revuelta's maps, however, it is necessary to contextualize the case study, first by locating it within the scholarship on frontier mapping and cartographic culture in late colonial Spanish America and second by situating the Mosetenés venture within the history and historiography of missionary and road-opening projects in the eastern Andean piedmont.

Frontier Mapping and Late Colonial Cartographic Culture

In 1796, one year before Revuelta drew his maps of Mosetenés, the outgoing viceroy in the neighboring Viceroyalty of Peru lamented the dearth of geographical knowledge about Peru's tropical frontiers and emphasized the harm that this lacuna represented for those who governed. It was, he declared, "a political truth that in order to govern a kingdom successfully it is necessary to know it, if not materially then at least geographically, as I demonstrate to Your

Excellency in the accompanying map.”⁴ He had gone without sleep to rectify this situation, and the fruits of his efforts provided the foundation for his entire end-of-tenure report. On the viceroy’s orders, Andrés Baleato prepared a map of Peru’s tropical interior in 1795, drawing on information provided by a Franciscan missionary who had spent 15 years in the piedmont regions.⁵

This brief vignette underscores a point repeatedly made in recent scholarship on Bourbon-era cartography in Spain and Spanish America: cartography emerged as a vital tool of imperial governance and colonial administration over the course of the eighteenth century.⁶ The centrality of mapping within Bourbon-era visions of government was expressed in an upsurge of cartographic production that ranged from Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla’s famous map of South America—the first of its kind to be drawn by a Spanish cartographer—to regional maps and urban plans, in addition to plans for bridges, forts, ports, prisons, mines, and other examples of civil and military engineering.⁷

The mapping of frontiers and borderlands, moreover, was accorded particular significance by the crown and its viceregal authorities in Spanish America. This policy was the product of military and economic preoccupations alike—the desire both to defend frontier regions against incursions by rival imperial powers and to consolidate possession of these regions by creating new settlements and surveying and exploiting their natural resources. Missionaries had played a central role in mapping and securing frontiers of colonization since the 1500s and continued to do so throughout the colonial era. In the eighteenth century, however, their cartographic endeavors were increasingly augmented by the labor of military engineers who, as an integral part of their duties, produced a wealth of maps and plans of Spanish America’s maritime peripheries and territorial frontiers.⁸

Logically, military engineers were overwhelmingly concentrated in regions considered vital to the security of the wider empire, most prominently the northern frontier regions of New Spain and the contested borderlands between

4. See *Memorias*, 2.

5. The map is entitled “Plano general de las montañas orientales del Reino del Perú” (General map of the eastern forests of the Kingdom of Peru). A foldout copy is included in *Memorias*.

6. See Moncada Maya, “La cartografía española”; Valverde and Lafuente, “Space Production”; Lafuente and López-Ocón, “Scientific Traditions.”

7. On Cruz Cano’s map, see Almeida, “O Mapa geográfico.” For essays discussing a wide range of Bourbon-era mapping projects, see Dym and Offen, *Mapping*.

8. On the cartographic labors of military engineers, see León García, “Cartografía”; Moncada Maya, “La cartografía española”; Moncada Maya and Escamilla Herrera, “Cartografía,” 91–103.

Spain's South American dominions and Brazil. José Omar Moncada Maya draws attention to the distribution of military engineers across Spanish America's expansive territories. Between 1769 and 1800, 54 engineers were sent to New Spain, whereas 44 were posted to the vast viceroyalties of Río de la Plata and Peru and a mere 13 to Central America. Their geographical distribution was highly variable, therefore, and "their reduced number prevented all the needs of such vast territories being covered."⁹

Military engineers were not, of course, the only individuals who contributed to mapping Spanish America's frontiers. Even so, Moncada Maya's observations resonate with another basic point conveyed by this section's opening vignette: for all the flourishing of cartographic culture in the late colonial era, extensive territories such as the Amazon frontiers remained scantily mapped and, in many areas, skilled mapmakers remained few and far between. Sylvia Sellers-García's study of the postal system in late colonial Guatemala provides another case in point. Whereas colonial administrators in Buenos Aires fulfilled the crown's request for a map of postal routes, officials in Guatemala sent an itinerary table, for in this peripheral region the technical knowledge required to produce such a map was almost certainly unavailable.¹⁰ Thus, the cartographic desire of the colonial state—that is, the impulse to obtain maps for the purposes of defense and governance—often remained unfulfilled, most notably in regions spatially distant from geopolitically sensitive frontiers.

Ironically, then, while the production of maps was intended to help overcome the challenges of distance, the very enormity of Spain's American territories frequently hindered the implementation of cartographic surveys in the first place.¹¹ Cartographic lacunae, however, were not the product of technical deficiencies and logistical challenges alone. Intertwined with the difficulties of overcoming vast spatial expanses was the persistence of premodern conceptions of geography characterized by linear and embodied experiences of space. For many inhabitants of the late colonial world, *espacio* continued to evoke the temporality of travel along routes and hence the intertwining of time and space rather than the atemporal space-as-surface of the cartographic projection.¹²

9. Moncada Maya, "La cartografía española," 22.

10. Sellers-García, *Distance*, 93.

11. See *ibid.*, 15. See also Garrett, "En lo remoto."

12. On medieval notions of space in Europe and their persistence in the early modern era, see Padrón, *Spacious Word*. For a discussion of this theme in the context of the seventeenth-century Andes, see Garrett, "En lo remoto." See also Sellers-García, *Distance*, who addresses the persistence of unidimensional conceptions of space in late colonial Guatemala.

In late colonial Río de la Plata, amid ongoing fears of Portuguese incursions into Spanish dominions, the cartographic labors of military engineers were primarily directed toward mapping imperial boundaries.¹³ By contrast, the internal tropical frontiers of the Andean piedmont beyond La Paz were never a focal point of major cartographic surveys. Nevertheless, the introduction of the intendancy system in 1782 went hand in hand with the perceived need to obtain systematic cartographic coverage and geographical descriptions of the viceregal territories and their newly organized jurisdictions. According to the ordinances that defined their duties, intendants were required to appoint “wholly reliable and intelligent engineers” to make “topographic maps of their provinces, on which are marked . . . their boundaries, mountains, forests, rivers, and lakes,” as well as to provide detailed narratives about (among other things) climate, natural resources, and riverine and terrestrial communications.¹⁴ At the district level, too, subdelegados—who played a particularly prominent role in the new administrative system in Upper Peru—were required to map their jurisdictions in addition to producing geographical descriptions.¹⁵

This legislation was perhaps more aspirational than realistic, above all in remote areas where the presence of the state and its institutions was notoriously weak. Even for the late colonial era, archival holdings relating to the eastern Andes are far richer in narrative geographies than in maps. Some produced by colonial officials, others by priests and missionaries, they are mostly centered, like the Guatemalan documents described by Sellers-García, on describing travel along routes rather than on fixing places in a static, two-dimensional expanse.¹⁶ It would be misleading to suggest, however, that the piedmont constituted a cartographic void at the end of the eighteenth century or that the late colonial restructuring of jurisdictions did not encourage mapmaking in peripheral regions.

The historical archives preserve a modest but significant number of manuscript maps of the piedmont regions from the late eighteenth century onward, in particular of Cochabamba’s tropical frontiers. Produced by priests

13. See Erbig, “Forging Frontiers”; Ferreira, “O conhecimento”; Penhos, “En las fronteras.”

14. San Martino de Dromi, *Constitución indiaña*, 163–64.

15. Acevedo, *Las intendencias*, 121.

16. A good example is a report on Apolobamba written by the district’s subdelegado in 1789. See “Relación histórica, geográfica, que yo D. José de Santa Cruz y Villavizencio . . . instruyo al Señor D. Sebastian de Segurola,” La Paz, 20 Sept. 1789, Yale University Library, New Haven, Sterling Memorial Library, Manuscripts and Archives, Andean Collection, part 2, box 25, folder 11, reel 14. For a late seventeenth-century example, see Saignes, “Hacia una geografía.”

and missionaries, colonial officials, and private individuals, many of these maps, like Revuelta's, were created with a view to opening roads into the lowlands. Perhaps partly because many are provisional and sketch-like in quality, none has yet received sustained scholarly attention from scholars of colonial cartography or those whose work focuses on frontiers in late colonial Charcas.¹⁷ A detailed intertextual analysis of Revuelta's maps, however, allows insight into the gradual emergence of cartographic culture in the wake of the jurisdictional reorganization of Upper Peru and opens a valuable window, accessible only partially via written texts, onto the imaginative construction of the tropical frontiers of Charcas.

Setting the Scene: Franciscan Missions in the Piedmont and the Road to Mosetenés

In 1790, two Franciscan friars named José Jorquera and Agustín Martí established a mission among the Mosetenés, a small and dispersed indigenous group that occupied multiple locations around the upper reaches of the Río Beni.¹⁸ The missionaries' initial reports described fertile territories inhabited by industrious people who welcomed the outsiders and their religion. Yet as was so often the case, early optimism soon ceded to frustration and disillusionment. Within less than two years, the men repeatedly complained of debilitating illness, the absence of supplies, and the constant fear that their converts would abandon the mission. The solution, they argued, lay in opening a road between the mission of San Francisco de Mosetenés and the Yungas town of Chulumani to facilitate communications and the delivery of supplies.¹⁹ Having failed to persuade the government in La Paz to provide funding, the missionaries turned

17. Undoubtedly many more maps were made than have survived. Extant maps are widely scattered. The Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia (Sucre), Lilly Library (Bloomington, Indiana), and British Library (London) all hold manuscript maps relevant to the region. Hans van den Berg reproduces five maps that depict routes into the lowlands, but he does not analyze them alongside his textual sources. See Berg, *En busca*.

18. The Mosetenés practiced sedentary agriculture, cultivating crops that included yucca, maize, plantains, pineapples, hot peppers, and manioc. In addition, they fished, hunted game, and raised domestic fowl. See José Jorquera, "Diario de lo ocurrido en la nueva reducción de Mozetenés," La Paz, 8 May 1792, AGN, Sala IX, Interior, 5-5-6; Santamaría, "Población," 746-47; Santamaría, *Esclavos*, 24.

19. See letters from Agustín Martí to Joaquín Revuelta Velarde, 3, 4 Oct. 1795, 20 Oct. 1796, AGN, Sala IX, Interior, leg. 36, exp. 5; letter from Agustín Martí to Joaquín Revuelta Velarde, Chulumani, 18 Oct. 1796, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter cited as AGI), Charcas 572.

for help to Joaquín Revuelta Velarde, the current subdelegado of Chulumani. After two years of negotiation, Revuelta agreed to finance and take responsibility for opening a path to Mosetenes. By October 1797, a route had been opened and a mission established among the Bopi people, a subgroup of the Mosetenes who lived a few leagues from the site of the original mission town.²⁰

The founding of this mission formed part of a longer history of Franciscan activity in the piedmont regions beyond La Paz that had begun in earnest about a century earlier. Between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Franciscans stabilized their presence on the tropical frontiers by founding a network of towns known collectively as the Apolobamba missions.²¹ In the late colonial era, the college endeavored to establish new missions to the north of Apolobamba, deeper into the tropical forests, and to the south, in the territories of the Mosetenes and Yuracarees peoples.²² Compared to the Jesuit towns of Moxos and Chiquitos, the Franciscan missions of the piedmont were never prosperous; although some became permanent settlements that survived the transition to Bolivian independence, the overall picture is of precarious and shifting settlements regularly abandoned by converts and missionaries alike.

On the one hand, the reluctance of the authorities in La Paz to subsidize the Mosetenes project reflects the ambivalence with which the colonial government viewed Franciscan missionary activities on the eastern frontiers, despite that government's continued reliance on missionaries as agents of frontier colonization and defense.²³ On the other hand, Revuelta's eventual decision to embark on the road-opening endeavor reflects a broader impulse, driven by economic and geopolitical concerns at the highest echelons of colonial and metropolitan governments as well as by the economic interests of populations living on the fringes of the Amazon, to settle the tropical lowlands and exploit their resources. Far from being an isolated phenomenon, Revuelta's project was one of dozens of road-opening ventures carried out or proposed in the late 1700s along the wide arc of the eastern Andes from Peru to Charcas.²⁴ Efforts to

²⁰. "Expediente formado por el Juez Real Subdelegado de Gobernador Intendente Don Joaquin Rebuelta Velarde sobre la reduccion de indios barbaros bopis en el Partido de Chulumani," La Paz, 11 Oct. 1797, Archivo de la Cancillería de Bolivia, La Paz (hereafter cited as ACB), Expediente Colonial 93.

²¹. On the early history of the Apolobamba missions, see Santamaría, "El rol." See also Machicao Gámez, *Las misiones*; Saignes, *Los Andes orientales*.

²². On the Yuracarees missions, see Berg, *Con los yuracarees*.

²³. On the government's ambivalence regarding the Franciscans, see Santamaría, *Esclavos*, 119–20. On the state's reliance on missionaries, see *ibid.*, 22.

²⁴. On road projects into the lowlands from Cochabamba, see Berg, *En busca*.

improve arteries of communication in Upper Peru took place in the highlands as well as in “some marginal and peripheral spaces of Spanish America, and right on the boundaries of the theoretical sovereignty of the Catholic king.”²⁵ As Hans van den Berg demonstrates, the flurry of road-opening ventures to the piedmont carried out in Cochabamba from the 1760s onward was intimately connected with missionary ventures and economic interests in the immediate lowlands as well as with establishing new routes to the imperial frontiers with Brazil.²⁶

Although Chulumani district was Upper Peru’s most important zone of coca production thanks to its fertile valleys, it was geographically separated from the tropical lowlands by mountainous terrain and fast-flowing rivers and never became a significant focal point of road projects linked to the imperial frontiers.²⁷ But the district was by no means wholly severed from the adjacent lowlands, for the Mosetenes people frequently visited the town of Chulumani to engage in trade well before Revuelta opened his road.²⁸ Downstream along the Río Beni, the Mosetenes also had contact with the town of Reyes, a gateway to Apolobamba and the former Jesuit missions of Moxos.²⁹

Chulumani then, like other parts of the piedmont, was linked in to “multiple borderlands” that intersected, overlapped, and were in tension with one another in the tropical frontiers of Charcas.³⁰ Daniel J. Santamaría, in outlining the history of Franciscan activities in Mosetenes, interprets Revuelta’s efforts to open a road exclusively within the context of economic and political interests that played out in the Intendancy of La Paz.³¹ For Santamaría, Revuelta was an obscure local official who transformed himself into a “quixotic commander”

25. Serrera, *Tráfico*, 165.

26. See Berg, *En busca*.

27. By the late eighteenth century, Chulumani had become “the zone par excellence of commercial crop agriculture and unquestionably the most highly capitalized agriculture in all Bolivia.” See Klein, “Structure,” 193–94, 197–98 (quote on 198).

28. Revuelta’s claims about opening a new road were therefore exaggerated, given that an established route already existed. See Santamaría, *Esclavos*, 25–26.

29. In 1796, the governor of Moxos reported that 95 Mosetenes had settled in Reyes and were given supplies of clothes and tools. See letter from Miguel de Zamora, San Pedro de Moxos, 21 Aug. 1796, AGI, Charcas 446. In 1791, the Franciscan missionaries encountered four Mosetenes who spoke reasonable Spanish; they mentioned one resident of the newly founded mission who had been physically assaulted in Reyes. See diary by José Jorquera and Agustín Martí, San Francisco de Mosetenes, 20 June 1791, AGN, Sala IX, Interior, 5-5-6.

30. Radding, *Landscapes*, 8. Radding refers specifically to Chiquitos, but the notion of “multiple borderlands” is equally relevant to other areas of the tropical lowland frontier in Charcas.

31. Santamaría, *Esclavos*. See also Santamaría, “Población.”

apparently untroubled by the extremely modest extent of his “conquest”: the mission of Bopi, founded in 1797 in a triumphant conclusion to the road-opening expedition, consisted of a mere 30 inhabitants.³² However, the in-depth study of Revuelta’s maps and other cartographic sources brings into focus how the Mosetenés venture, despite its modest proportions, was partly given meaning in relation to conflicting and overlapping frontier projects and processes unfolding in the wider tropical lowlands.

Local Interests, Regional Rivalries, and Revuelta’s Cartographic Advantage

In 1804, the intendant of La Paz, Antonio Burgunyó, retrieved Revuelta’s maps of Mosetenés from the archives in response to the viceroy’s request for information about the number and location of missions among the Mosetenés. The intendant was scathing, however, about the former subdelegado’s cartographic endeavors. The maps, he observed disparagingly, were “as inexact as his report: nevertheless, it may be deduced from both [maps] that the *reducción* of Mosetenés consists of just one [mission town].”³³ The fact that Burgunyó nevertheless cited them as evidence therefore suggests that Revuelta enjoyed something of a monopoly over detailed cartographic representations of this tropical frontier.

To be sure, the piedmont regions appeared in numerous small-scale maps made prior to 1797, but large-scale maps were extremely few and far between. In 1789, following the introduction of intendancies and the incorporation of the Apolobamba missions into the new district of Caupolicán, the subdelegado José de Santa Cruz y Villavicencio produced a painstaking report of his jurisdiction’s geography, natural resources, and human populations. For all his efforts, however, he does not appear to have produced a map.³⁴ Nine years earlier, Fray Antonio Nicanor de Campos, guardian of the Apolobamba missions, had sketched a map to accompany a population census, but it was a skeletal route map rather than a topographic map showing boundaries, terrain, or scale.³⁵ The founders of the Mosetenés mission, meanwhile, restricted their

32. Santamaría, *Esclavos*, 25, 35.

33. Antonio Burgunyó to Viceroy Marqués de Sobremonte, La Paz, Sept. 1804, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3.

34. “Relación histórica, geográfica,” La Paz, 20 Sept. 1789, Yale University Library, New Haven, Sterling Memorial Library, Manuscripts and Archives, Andean Collection, part 2, box 25, folder 11, reel 14.

35. “Razón de las misiones y reducciones llamadas de la Purissima Concepción de Apolobamba en la Provincia de Caupolicán,” Caupolicán, 1780, AGN, Sala IX, Interior, 30-2-2.

mapmaking efforts to drawing a simple plan of the settlement; strongly aware of the state's desire for cartographic representation, the friars apologized in their report for their lack of competency in making maps.³⁶

Although it is impossible to determine how Revuelta acquired cartographic skills, his energetic mapmaking activities set him apart from many of his peers in the colonial administration, and in all likelihood, he was the first individual to draw a detailed map of Chulumani district.³⁷ Cartographic images, however, are rarely the product of one individual. Almost certainly, both the Franciscans and indigenous guides served as sources of geographical knowledge that Revuelta incorporated into his topographic map of the route to Mosetenés.³⁸ Although the route was a well-established pathway used for years by the Mosetenés people, Revuelta laid personal claim to the road and to knowledge of the frontier by means of his map.³⁹ In addition to inscribing his name along the route, he named himself twice in the title, thereby identifying the newly formed missionary landscape as the product of his own agency. In the absence of other significant cartographic sources, the map's very existence marked him as a holder of privileged geographical knowledge and as a capable colonial official who zealously fulfilled his duties to the crown.

Revuelta's topographic map and his small-scale map of the Amazon frontiers are today incorporated into a substantial file of documents compiled as part of the viceroy's efforts to determine the number and location of missions among the Mosetenés. In all likelihood, the maps originally accompanied an account of services to the crown that Revuelta compiled shortly after his return from the frontier in 1797.⁴⁰ Placed alongside a series of documents dating back to 1795, the map of Revuelta's road demonstrated the culmination of months of effort in creating the conditions of possibility for a new and prosperous colonial landscape. Prior to embarking on his road-opening expedition, Revuelta

36. José Jorquera to the viceroy, La Paz, 8 May 1792, AGN, Sala IX, Interior, 5-5-6. The map is included in this same file.

37. It is also unclear whether Revuelta was born in Spain or America. His name does not feature among AGI records of passengers who made the transatlantic voyage from Spain.

38. Revuelta conveyed his reliance on indigenous knowledge in a letter written shortly before embarking on his expedition. He expressed his intention to reconnoiter the final section of the route to "establish the perfect direction with the help of the Indians, bringing some of them along for this purpose." See letter, 5 Aug. 1797, "Expediente formado por el Juez Real Subdelegado," La Paz, 11 Oct. 1797, ACB, Expediente Colonial 93.

39. See Santamaría, *Esclavos*, 25–26.

40. One copy of this file made its way to Spain, accompanied by a rough version of the topographic map. Another copy was retained in La Paz, probably together with the two maps dispatched to Buenos Aires.

emphasized the economic benefits that his undertaking would yield, describing the lands of the Mosetenés as “extremely extensive, fertile, and productive; their uncultivated lands are ideal for raising livestock, growing legumes and other crops that are lacking in this Province [of La Paz] . . . and above all the mines and alluvial deposits that abound in these hills and rivers would be discovered and worked.”⁴¹

If the friars’ tenacious petitioning and Revuelta’s sense of duty as subdelegado played a role in persuading him to open the road at his own expense, his status as owner of two coca-producing haciendas in the vicinity of Chulumani was significant too, for he was invested personally in fostering the local coca economy and ensuring his district’s access to and control over the piedmont and its resources.⁴² It is perhaps not surprising that Revuelta’s map is especially dense in topographic features around Chulumani and the head of the trail to Mosetenés, for this was the area in which his coca haciendas were located. Indeed, Intendant Burgunyó claimed that Revuelta had maliciously opened the road via the wrong route, “thinking only of its utility in relation to a certain hacienda and not for service to the king.”⁴³

Careful scrutiny of the subdelegado’s maps reveals his concern for securing Chulumani’s claim to the adjacent tropical lowlands. Whereas on Revuelta’s sketch map the boundary line of Chulumani district extends only a short way

41. Joaquín Revuelta Velarde to the gobernador intendente of La Paz, 9 Nov. 1796, “Expediente formado por el Juez Real Subdelegado,” La Paz, 11 Oct. 1797, ACB, Expediente Colonial 93. I am grateful to Elsa Arce Cote for her help with translating the term *abentadero* (alluvial deposits).

42. Revuelta’s haciendas, named Porras and Santo Tomás, were located in the parishes of Chirca and Coripata. See “El Cap.n Dn Joaquin Rebuelta da parte al Exmo Sr Virrey de la defensa que hizo de Yrupana contra las armas de los insurgentes de la Prov.a de la Paz,” Chulumani, 21 Nov. 1809, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-5.

43. “Oficio del obispo de La Paz al Virrey de Buenos Aires,” La Paz, 19 Oct. 1799, in Maurtua, *Juicio*, 179. Burgunyó’s view of Revuelta’s activities was colored by mutual enmity. In 1798, Burgunyó brought criminal charges against Revuelta on the grounds that he owed over 13,000 pesos to the royal treasury as a result of misusing tribute monies and indulgences to finance his activities in the coca trade. He described Revuelta as a “dangerous debtor” who showed disdain for authority. See Antonio Burgunyó to the viceroy of Río de la Plata, La Paz, 17 Dec. 1798, AGN, Sala IX, Criminales, 32-5-8, leg. 44, exp. 4. See also Antonio Burgunyó to the governor of La Plata, La Paz, 17 Aug. 1798, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-2, fol. 65v. Revuelta denied these charges and declared that Burgunyó “in the most criminally abusive manner distributed all the [tribute] money for the coca trade for his own benefit and utility.” See Joaquín Revuelta Velarde to the governor of La Plata, La Plata, 24 Sept. 1798, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-2.

beyond the easterly limits of colonial settlement (figure 1), on his more carefully drawn topographic map the district boundary encompasses the Mosetenés missions and the triangle of territory formed by the confluence of the Ríos Beni and Bopi (figure 2). The revised boundary lines also appear on the chorographic map and extend even further to the north and south (figure 3). By indicating boundaries, Revuelta was diligently providing information of particular interest to the viceregal administration and crown, yet his emphasis on these boundaries may also reflect a desire to pursue and protect the interests of coca growers in the Intendancy of La Paz and Chulumani district in particular.

In the 1790s, Cochabamba's dynamic intendant Francisco de Viedma aggressively sought to foster the regional economy through trade with indigenous groups in the tropical lowlands, road construction, colonization of the piedmont, and development of commercial agriculture.⁴⁴ The expansion of coca cultivation in the tropical valleys was a prominent part of this plan, and Viedma unambiguously voiced his intentions to develop coca plantations in Cochabamba province that would compete with those of La Paz.⁴⁵ It is clear, moreover, that the territorial limits between the Intendancies of Cochabamba and La Paz were in dispute in the 1790s; to avoid future lawsuits over jurisdictions, Viedma noted in 1793, it was necessary to demarcate the boundaries "in the Apolobamba area, that today belongs to the Intendancy of La Paz."⁴⁶

Predictably, the merchants and political elite of La Paz met Viedma's plans with hostility, for they perceived his expansionist ambitions as a threat to their own economic interests.⁴⁷ Indeed, in 1790, the coca growers of La Paz attempted to appeal directly to the monarch in order to protest the perceived assault on their livelihoods.⁴⁸ By 1799, Revuelta had been appointed procurator fiscal of the city of La Paz; in this post, he represented the collective interests of the coca growers during an inquiry by the audiencia government

44. Larson, *Cochabamba*, 242–58. On Viedma's ambitious plans, see also Rodríguez Ostria, *Historia del trópico*, 11–23.

45. Francisco de Viedma, "Descripción geográfica y estadística de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra (1793)," in Angelis, *Colección*, 664–65. Viedma argued that the economic focus in the Intendancy of La Paz should be on mining. Today, he argued, the province "regards these [coca] plantations in Cochabamba with rivalry," but in the future both La Paz and the state would gain far greater benefit from the exploitation of mineral resources than from coca cultivation. *Ibid.*, 665.

46. *Ibid.*, 734.

47. Larson, *Cochabamba*, 256–57.

48. See "Juan José de Ayorúa . . . sobre diversos excesos del gobernador interino de la intendencia de la Paz Agustín de Goyeneta . . .," La Paz, 1790, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, Sucre (hereafter cited as ABNB), Expedientes Coloniales 198.

into allegations of labor abuse on the haciendas.⁴⁹ Although his specific role in countering the threat from Cochabamba is unclear, the significance of the boundaries marked on his maps must be interpreted in light of his active involvement in efforts to protect the region's coca economy.

If Revuelta felt the need to convey cartographically that the Mosetenés frontier belonged to Chulumani rather than the Intendancy of Cochabamba, his worries were not unfounded. By 1802, concrete, albeit short-lived, efforts were initiated in Cochabamba province to secure control of the area. These efforts followed a familiar pattern: while two Franciscans from the college of San José de Tarata established the mission of Cooti (at or near the location of the abandoned San Francisco de Mosetenés),⁵⁰ a priest named Patricio Ximénez Torrico, with the enthusiastic support of Viedma and the Cochabamba-based Bohemian naturalist Tadeo Haenke, mobilized his own resources in an attempt to open a road from the Yungas of Cochabamba to the missionary frontier.⁵¹

Although Haenke claimed to have read Revuelta's diary, his own map of the region, drawn in 1804 in response to the viceroy's request for information about the Mosetenés missions, omitted all references to this earlier phase of missionary activity and included only the name of the newly founded mission of Cooti.⁵² In his accompanying report, Haenke clearly articulated his belief that Cochabamba possessed the most robust claim to Mosetenés. The proximity of the new mission to the province of Cochabamba, "the easy entry following the gorge of the Río Cotacajes, the convenience of being able to promptly provide the missionaries with necessary supplies via this route, and the opening of a wide and easy path . . . persuade me that the College of Tarata possesses the most justifiable claims to these territories."⁵³

In drawing his topographic map, Revuelta was doing more than simply complying with the duties of his post. By exercising his cartographic

49. See "Expediente obrada a iniciativa del doctor Victoriano de Villava . . . sobre los abusos, excesos y malos tratamientos de los hacendados y mayordomos del partido de Chulumani," La Plata, 1804, ABNB, Expedientes Coloniales 5.

50. See Fray Hilario Coche to Francisco de Viedma, San José de Tarata, 13 Mar. 1803, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3.

51. On Ximénez Torrico's project and Haenke's involvement, see letter from Francisco de Viedma to the viceroy, Hacienda de Chulpas, [15 Apr. 1804?], AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3. On Viedma's support, see letter from alderman Juan Carrillo de Albornoz to the viceroy, Cochabamba, 15 Dec. 1803, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3.

52. Tadeo Haenke to the viceroy, Cochabamba, 14 Oct. 1804, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3.

53. Ibid.

advantage—that is, by making maps in a time and place where detailed maps were desired by the state and yet were still few and far between—the subdelegado sought to enhance his self-image as a capable official worthy of reward and promotion. His own economic stake in Chulumani as an owner of coca haciendas and his clear interest in being an influential political figure in La Paz contributed to shaping the topographic map and, no doubt, to his very decision to create it.

In the absence of other detailed cartographic representations, the map allowed Revuelta to claim privileged knowledge of the geography of Mosetenés, as well as to assert his role as a key agent in its colonization. With its insistence on district boundaries, his map also reflected a desire to defend Chulumani's territorial jurisdiction in light of regional rivalries sparked by Viedma's efforts to stimulate settlement and agriculture on Cochabamba's tropical frontiers. In 1804, for reasons relating to politics internal to the Franciscan order, the crown reallocated the mission to the Franciscan college of Charcas, thereby returning it to the sphere of influence of La Paz.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Burgunyó's consultation of the topographic map and Haenke's production of his own map of the frontier demonstrate that Revuelta was wise to assume that his maps could potentially play a central role in asserting his district's claims to Mosetenés. However, the subdelegado's mapmaking ambitions, and the significance that he attributed to his road project, went well beyond the realm of local interests and regional rivalries.

The Centrality of Mosetenés on Revuelta's Maps

In colonial Spanish America, the remoteness and marginality of particular places—or, conversely, their centrality and importance—were more than simply a question of geographical distance from a given location. Rather than being imagined as two-dimensional expanses (some close to and others distant from a particular site), centers and peripheries “were primarily understood to occupy places along routes.”⁵⁵ Centers, writes Sellers-García, “were understood as places with dense and effective administrative networks, both secular and ecclesiastical; distant peripheries were understood as places beyond bureaucratic control.”⁵⁶ Colonial centers, in other words, were neither absolute nor fixed but instead “variable and relative.”⁵⁷

54. See “Sobre que el Gov.r de Moxos auxilie la visita de Apolobamba,” Madrid, 30 Oct. 1804, ABNB, section Moxos y Chiquitos, GRM 18. X, fol. 1.

55. Sellers-García, *Distance*, 9.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., 4.

Demonstrating the centrality of the Mosetenés mission was fundamental to Revuelta's cartographic endeavors. Arguably, he intended his very act of cartographic production to communicate that Chulumani district, and Mosetenés as part of it, was anything but remote by demonstrating that the district was under the administration of a capable colonial official. However, in producing a small-scale map of the entire western portion of the Amazon lowlands, he also highlighted the centrality of Mosetenés within a far-flung network of fluvial and terrestrial routes of communication. Specifically, he endeavored to prove its centrality as a vital node of communication with Franciscan missions further to the north in the Peruvian Amazon and, to the east, with the contested imperial borderlands.

Months before embarking on his expedition, Revuelta conveyed to the government in La Paz that Mosetenés's significance went far beyond the territory's natural resources and the inhabitants who would become productive Christian vassals of the crown. Mosetenés, he insisted, was situated quite literally at the center of everything: "in the center of the Provinces of La Paz, Cochabamba, Moxos, Chiquitos, and the very extensive district of Apolobamba, so that the routes of communication [to these provinces] could be discovered and made passable with ease . . . via the territories that lie in the vicinity of the Río Beni."⁵⁸ In order to demonstrate the centrality of Mosetenés, Revuelta drew heavily on two cartographic sources, both of which he acknowledged in his map title: Fray Manuel de Sobreviela's map of the Pampas del Sacramento in the Viceroyalty of Peru's Amazon frontiers and don Antonio Aymerich's 1764 map of Moxos and Chiquitos ("Mapa de las Missiones de la Compañía de Ihs en el Territorio de Moxos y Chiquitos").⁵⁹ The explicit naming of these sources lent authority to Revuelta's own map and marked him as possessing the cartographic literacy and skills considered indispensable for effective government. These two maps, as we will see, contained features that facilitated his representation of Mosetenés as a central place.

Although Revuelta's decision to use the Sobreviela map made sense in light of his connection with the Franciscans in the Intendancy of La Paz, Sobreviela's representation of the course of the Río Beni may also have persuaded Revuelta to use it. Well into the 1800s, the cartographic record reveals profound uncertainty about the fluvial geography of the southwestern Amazon. Two

58. Joaquín Revuelta Velarde to the gobernador intendente of La Paz, 9 Nov. 1796, "Expediente formado por el Juez Real Subdelegado," La Paz, 11 Oct. 1797, ACB, Expediente Colonial 93.

59. In the title of his map "Plan corografico" (figure 3), Revuelta gets Antonio Aymerich's name wrong and refers to him as "Jose Aymeric."

dominant interpretations of the course of the Beni emerged by the end of the eighteenth century. The first, initially disseminated via Jean d'Anville's 1748 map of South America, depicts the Beni flowing far to the north, curving eastward to join the Amaru-mayu (Serpent River), and then flowing into the Amazon or Marañón.

The second model, popularized by Sobreviela and repeated in many early nineteenth-century maps of South America, identifies the Beni as the upper reaches or principal tributary of the Ucayali.⁶⁰ This apparently minor detail, visible in the bottom right-hand corner of Sobreviela's map, allowed Revuelta to link Mosetenés via a direct fluvial route to the existing missions of the Pampas del Sacramento as well as to substantial populations who lay beyond crown control.⁶¹ Again following Sobreviela, Revuelta showed the banks of the Paro and Ucayali peppered with the settlements of peoples who continued to live beyond Spanish rule.

Given that Revuelta had access to Sobreviela's map, he may have also had access to Hipólito Unanue's descriptions of Franciscan activities in Peru's central Amazon, and in particular Unanue's accounts of missionary efforts by Sobreviela (guardian of the college of Ocopa) and his associate Fray Narciso Girbal, published in various numbers of the *Mercurio Peruano* in 1791. Not only did Unanue, a prominent Peruvian figure of science and politics, concur with Sobreviela in identifying the Beni as the principal source of the Ucayali, but he also described the Ucayali basin as an area that could effortlessly support a population of five million, "a peninsula from the center of which it would be possible to engage in nautical trade with almost every location of the globe."⁶²

60. The influence of Sobreviela's map reflects the wide circulation and translation of the *Mercurio Peruano* in Europe and North America in the early nineteenth century. Twenty-two individuals in Upper Peru subscribed to this short-lived (1790–1795) but influential patriotic journal founded in Lima with the support of Viceroy Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos. However, its diffusion was undoubtedly greater because newspapers and periodicals were frequently read aloud at social gatherings. See Clément, *El Mercurio*, 63–64, 71, 268–70.

61. The Pampas del Sacramento lie between the Ríos Huallaga and Ucayali. For overviews of the history of colonial-era missionary activity in this region, see Arbesmann, "Contribution"; García Jordán, *Cruz*, 23–58.

62. Hipólito Unanue, "Peregrinación por el Río Huallaga hasta la laguna de la Gran Cocama, hecha por el Padre Predicador Apostólico Fray Manuel Sobreviela, en el año pasado de 1790," 1791, in *Colección documental*, 345. This account was first published in *Mercurio Peruano* 2, nos. 59, 60, 61 (1791). For Unanue's discussion of the course of the Beni, see Hipólito Unanue, "Peregrinación por los ríos Marañón y Ucayali," in *Colección documental*, 362–63.

It is possible that Sobreviela's map and Unanue's writings provided sources of inspiration for Revuelta's own venture. The principal reason that Sobreviela gave for having his map published "was to demonstrate . . . the paths that should be taken to reach the mission towns that exist in the forests of this viceroyalty, and [to reach] the settlements of innumerable barbarous nations."⁶³ These very same routes, he reasoned, "may also serve as guides for those inhabitants of Peru who wish to penetrate those vast regions in order to enrich themselves with the valuable products in which they abound."⁶⁴ Just as Revuelta's map incorporated key elements of the map drawn by Sobreviela, and just as Revuelta's written account, like Sobreviela's, underscored the critical importance of his road to the lowlands, so too Revuelta's insistence on the geographic and strategic centrality of Mosetenés uncannily echoed Unanue's depiction of the Pampas del Sacramento as the principal future center of settlement, commerce, and transatlantic communication in Spanish South America.

In addition to connecting his venture to the Ucayali missions, Revuelta cartographically linked Mosetenés via riverine routes to the provinces of Moxos and Chiquitos and the contested frontier with Brazil, thereby mirroring wider late eighteenth-century interests in opening routes between the eastern Andes and the tropical lowlands. The proliferation of road-opening proposals was propelled by economic and missionary objectives as well as anxieties about westward Portuguese incursions into Charcas—especially following the 1761 annulment of the midcentury boundary treaty with Portugal—and the perceived need to defend the external frontiers of Spain's dominions.⁶⁵ Due to the vast distances and difficult terrain, moving troops from the highland cities to the transimperial frontier was logically challenging, and from the 1760s onward repeated efforts were made to find a route that was quicker and less arduous than the circuitous trajectory via Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

The road to the frontier via Santa Cruz appears on a manuscript map made in 1764 by Antonio Aymerich, a colonel and military engineer who coordinated the expulsion of the Jesuits from Moxos and Chiquitos three years later and served as first secular governor of those provinces. The map marks the location of the missions, the Portuguese and Spanish forts on the frontier, and the route of an expedition, led in 1762 by Alonso de Verdugo, to counter the threat of Portuguese incursions into Moxos. In 1769, don Miguel Blanco y Crespo, a military captain and navigator, produced another manuscript map showing the

63. Sobreviela, "Varias noticias," 92.

64. Ibid., 93.

65. See Berg, *En busca*.

former missions, the forts, the route to the frontier via Santa Cruz, and a new route that descended to the lowlands from Cochabamba. Also visible is the Río Chulumani.⁶⁶ The town of Chulumani, however, is notable only in its absence, and the area is disconnected from the eastern lowlands, partly due to the lack of pathways and partly because the Río Beni, into which the Río Chulumani flows, veers northward and away from the imperial frontier.

It is impossible to determine whether Revuelta viewed Blanco y Crespo's map. Nevertheless, his depiction of the Amazon basin contested Chulumani's peripheral status in relation to the eastern frontiers, and Aymerich's 1764 map helped him to make this cartographic move. Although Revuelta did not discuss the Portuguese threat in his written reports on Mosetenés, his map clearly shows his desire to connect the internal frontier of Mosetenés to the external frontier with Brazil. Following Aymerich, he marked the Spanish and Portuguese forts and settlements along the Río Iténez (or Guaporé) that functioned as key sites of transimperial conflict, encounter, and exchange.⁶⁷ In addition, he included the route to the frontier via Santa Cruz but added a label that linked the creation of this road to Juan de Pestaña, a former president of the Audiencia de Charcas.

Finally, in drawing the top right-hand quarter of his map, Revuelta relied heavily on the fluvial geography traced by Aymerich, including a curious hydrographical feature that on Aymerich's map appears in the bottom left-hand corner: a lake named Rogaguado, which has fluvial connections with the Beni and Mamoré and is the source of three additional rivers. By placing this spider-like arrangement of waterways centrally in his map, Revuelta could demonstrate that Mosetenés and the Río Beni, far from being peripheral in relation to the eastern frontiers, were an ideal gateway to Moxos and Chiquitos. This configuration clearly contradicted the cartographic vision of Blanco y Crespo, who included Lago Rogaguado but showed it as disconnected from the Beni and Mamoré.

The fact that Revuelta included the route to the frontier via Santa Cruz and explicitly linked it to Juan de Pestaña also deserves attention. It is possible that he wished to allude to Pestaña's military expedition of 1766 to counter Portuguese incursions, the disastrous outcome of which was well known. On the long march from Santa Cruz, many soldiers succumbed to illness and death,

66. "Mapa que comprende las Misiones de Moxos y Chiquitos, marcado el terreno de S. M. Católica que ocupan los portugueses, según las más exactas noticias y observaciones hechas en las dos expediciones de Moxos en 1763 y 1766," La Plata, 1769, AGI, Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires, 78. On Blanco y Crespo's map, see Serrera, *Tráfico*, 164–65.

67. For an overview of these conflicts and exchanges, see Vangelista, "Las relaciones."

rendering the surviving troops unfit for combat by the time that they arrived at the imperial frontier.⁶⁸ By associating the road with Pestaña and hence with failure, Revuelta promoted the route via Mosetenés and the Beni as a viable alternative; although he was surely aware of repeated efforts to open roads via Cochabamba, these alternative routes to the lowlands are strikingly absent from his map.

By explicitly aligning himself with two prominent mapmakers, Revuelta sought to lend authority to his map of the Amazon lowlands; in producing a composite image based on their maps, he also endeavored to bring Chulumani and the Mosetenés frontier from the margins to the center. Centrality, however, was more than a simple matter of geographical location, for as recent scholarship underscores, it was understood relationally, and proximity to major routes of communication was crucially important. Through the strategic incorporation of both particular hydrographic features and the route of a failed expedition, Revuelta made the cartographic argument that Mosetenés could be a vital node in a network of communication that extended to the Franciscan missions of the Ucayali and, perhaps most importantly, the imperial frontier with Brazil. An intertextual reading of this map demonstrates the crucial significance of routes, fluvial as well as terrestrial, to the ways in which the multiple frontiers of the tropical lowlands were understood and experienced. Because defending and controlling the external frontier from within Charcas could not be achieved without getting to the frontier via the piedmont, the centrality or marginality of these internal frontier regions was inextricably tied to the presence or absence of viable roads and waterways.

Revuelta's maps and reports did not succeed in salvaging the Mosetenés missions. In 1799, the crown recommended the continuation of the missionary effort and of Revuelta's post as subdelegado, but by the time this recommendation arrived, probably in 1800, Revuelta had left his post, his departure precipitated by Intendant Burgunyó.⁶⁹ Although the Franciscans of Tarata

68. Block, *Mission Culture*, 51–52. Pestaña was also involved in the mid-1760s in efforts to identify and open a new route to Moxos from Cochabamba that would facilitate the movement of troops. However, the project experienced repeated setbacks, and it was not until 1780–1781 that a route from Cochabamba was opened. See Berg, *En busca*, 9–10, 94.

69. “S. M. en Madrid. Al Virrey de Buenos Ayres. Sobre lo resuelto acerca de las Misiones de Apolobamba . . . y reducción de los yndios Mosetenés,” Madrid, 25 Dec. 1799, AGI, Charcas 572. The Council of the Indies recommended Revuelta's appointment to a higher post following a second term as subdelegado. See “Fr. Ag.tin Martí, Misionero de la Observancia de S.n Fran.co . . . Informe: s.re la entrada que hizo con Fr. Jph Jorquera, a las asperezas de Mosetenés,” Madrid, 23 July 1799, AGI, Buenos Aires 610.

founded a new mission in 1802, just four years later they had, like their predecessors, succumbed to illness and abandoned the mission.⁷⁰ In 1809, Revuelta embarked on a new road-opening endeavor to Mosetenés with the apparent mandate of the crown, and in 1810 he redrew his topographic map of 1797.⁷¹ The reactivation of this project was triggered in 1806 by the arrival in Chulumani of a delegation of Mosetenés who, according to the intendant of La Paz, appealed to the authorities for a new missionary.⁷² The revived missionary venture, however, did not provide the principal context for the creation of the new cartographic image. Instead, Revuelta redrew the map in light of turbulent political circumstances that unfolded in Upper Peru following Napoleon's invasion of Spain.

Perilous Pathways in an Insurgent Landscape

By the late eighteenth century, the deployment of maps as tools of colonial government was increasingly focused on demarcating boundaries and on fixing in two-dimensional space the location of topographic features and places.⁷³ However, the heavy emphasis on routes in late colonial maps of Charcas also reveals cartography's role in facilitating flows of communication with a view to military and economic interests defined at a variety of geographic scales. Revuelta's 1797 maps encouraged movement toward the lowlands via Chulumani and Mosetenés, thereby identifying these last two places as central in relation to the Ucayali and the imperial frontier. Routes of communication, however, could also facilitate mobility that colonial authorities perceived as threatening to the state's security and prosperity. Following the outbreak of rebellion in Upper Peru in 1809 and throughout the struggles for independence, the Amazon faded from view as a frontier of colonization.⁷⁴ Under these new and turbulent political circumstances, the mapmaking activities of

70. See letter from Patricio Ximénez Torrico to the viceroy, Sacaca, 16 June 1806, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3. See also Fray José Boria and Fray Bernardino Lopes Pantoja to Francisco de Viedma, Misión de Mosetenés, 20 Mar. 1806, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-3.

71. Revuelta briefly mentions his renewed road-opening efforts in his report on the defense of Irupana. "El Cap.n Dn Joaquin Rebuelta," Chulumani, 21 Nov. 1809, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-5.

72. See "El Gob.or Intendente. Avisa haver salido a la capital del Partido de Chulumani ocho indios de Nacion Mosetenés," La Paz, 17 Sept. 1806, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-4.

73. On the concept of cartographic "fixing," see Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*.

74. See García Jordán, *Cruz*, 50–58.

Revuelta, a loyalist to the viceregal government, centered on preventing movement toward the tropical frontiers.

Although Charcas was one of the last territories to declare independence from Spain, it witnessed early manifestations of unrest in the wake of the French invasion of Spain in 1808 and Napoleon's elevation of his brother to the Spanish throne. The declaration of autonomous government by the Audiencia de Charcas in May 1809 was quickly followed by the establishment of another junta in La Paz, initially headed by Pedro Domingo Murillo. In October, following the orders of Peru's viceroy, the president of the Audiencia de Cuzco led an army of 5,000 to La Paz to overthrow the new government. Unable to match the size and strength of José Manuel de Goyeneche's army, the junta's supporters retreated to the Yungas in order to continue their campaign.⁷⁵

Far from constituting opposition to Spanish imperial rule, Marta Irurozqui argues, the 1809 declarations of self-government in La Plata and La Paz were founded on the conservative impulse to defend the rights of the Spanish monarchy in the face of French invasion and the threat of Portuguese claims to the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. In La Paz, supporters and opponents of the junta did not divide neatly into Spaniards and non-Spaniards. Instead, lines of division emerged between those who were situated within local networks of political and economic power and those who were excluded.⁷⁶ For the local elite who composed the junta, the monarchical crisis in Spain represented an opportunity to gain greater political autonomy not from the crown but from the viceregal authorities in Buenos Aires regarding control over the regional economy and, in particular, over tribute and taxation.⁷⁷

In light of Revuelta's protracted conflicts with leading members of the La Paz elite and his close connections with the bishop, who was arrested by the newly formed junta on suspicion of complicity with the Portuguese, it is hardly surprising that he sided with the junta's opponents and hence with the viceregal authorities.⁷⁸ Along with his family, Revuelta fled La Paz on September 8 to

75. For recent overviews, see Irurozqui, "La sombra"; Roca, 1809; Sobrevilla Perea, *Caudillo*, 22–52.

76. Irurozqui, "La sombra," 195–98. Although interpretations of the events of 1809 vary widely, recent publications mostly question the idea that the junta leaders aspired to full independence from the Spanish crown. On conflict among the La Paz elite, see Barragán, "Españoles."

77. The viceregal governments of Buenos Aires and Lima refused to recognize the La Paz and La Plata juntas and interpreted the formation of these autonomous governments as attempts at secession. See Irurozqui, "La sombra," 209, 222–23, 228.

78. In 1797, Revuelta described the Spaniard Juan Pedro de Indaburo, one of the future leaders of the 1809 junta, as his "capital enemy." See letter from Joaquín Revuelta

take refuge on one of his haciendas near Chulumani.⁷⁹ According to his own account, he played a leading role as militia captain in a counterinsurgency movement that resulted in the defeat of Manuel Victorio García Lanza, self-declared general commander of the district of Yungas, and his followers. On hearing rumors of the insurgents' defeat in La Paz, Revuelta anticipated that they would retreat to the Yungas to establish a stronghold. In Irupana, a town to the south of Chulumani, he assembled six military companies and, with the assistance of the mayor and the bishop of La Paz, routed Lanza and his men after an extended battle on October 25.⁸⁰ In November 1809, Revuelta produced a detailed report of these events for the viceroy, and in the following year, he drew a new map of Chulumani.

Although Revuelta's 1810 map (figure 4) closely resembles his topographic map of 1797, closer scrutiny reveals a new route from Chulumani to the missions in addition to the original road. The title of the 1810 map, meanwhile, indicates a subtle but significant shift in emphasis. Whereas the 1797 map was entitled "Topography of the Road Opened by Don Joaquín Revuelta Velarde," the 1810 map bears the inscription "Topographic Plan of the District of Chulumani, and Course of Its Rivers, as Far as the Missions of Mosetenes in the Province of La Paz." On the 1797 maps, Chulumani and Mosetenes appear as nodes on a direct route to Moxos and Chiquitos and hence as central places in relation to the Ucayali missions and above all the eastern interimperial frontier. Oriented toward the Amazon, the map entitled "Topography of the Road" invites movement toward the tropical lowlands.

Although the 1810 map title still refers to the Mosetenes missions, Revuelta's emphasis, in light of the rebel threat, is now on demonstrating detailed geographical knowledge of Chulumani district. Rather than looking to the eastern frontiers, the new map is oriented toward La Paz as the origin and center of the uprising; it depicts an intricate network of pathways linking the provincial capital with Chulumani and other Yungas towns, along with the site of Lanza's capture. Revuelta's inclusion of the routes of communication from La Paz to the Yungas and onward to Mosetenes responded to loyalist concerns about the rebels' infiltration of the piedmont. This inclusion also reinforced cartographically an argument already expressed in his 1809 report on the

Velarde to Antonio Burgunyó, Quartel, 16 Dec. 1797, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-2.

79. See "El Cap.n Dn Joaquin Rebuelta," Chulumani, 21 Nov. 1809, AGN, Sala IX, Intendencia de La Paz, 5-6-5.

80. Revuelta did not participate in the final capture of Lanza in early November because he had traveled to the nearby settlement of Cañamina in search of reinforcements. *Ibid.*



Figure 4. "Plan topografico del Partido de Chulumani, y curso de sus ríos, hasta las misiones de Mosetenés, en la Prov.a de la Paz: levantado, y delineado por d.n Joaquin Rebuelta, año de 1810." Courtesy of Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

defense of Irupana: namely, that it was all too easy for the rebels to establish a foothold in the Yungas and, once there, to achieve their "perverse ideas" and establish an "independent colony" that would be extended to the missions of Mosetenés and Moxos.⁸¹ In addition, he said,

I also saw that the local situation of those lands [the Yungas] helped at little cost and with even less need for defense their depraved intentions. I was not blind to the fact that, by extending their conquests as far as the province of Chiquitos, and cutting off the entry points to La Paz, leaving open only the road to Cochabamba via Irupana, they would assure their active commerce by serving the needs of both the valleys and the highlands, given that the 250,000 baskets of coca produced in the three annual harvests of this district, the 308 haciendas, and the

81. Ibid.

communal lands, would bring them around 2 million pesos . . . *I was aware* that the neighboring provinces could only with difficulty prevent the import and export of the said goods, as coca is essential for the working of the mines, and for all kinds of business in this land.⁸²

More than a simple narrative mapping of Chulumani and its networks of communication, Revuelta's description emphasized his privileged insights into the rebels' intentions through a repeated use of verbs that indicate seeing and perception. Pathways and waterways previously key to the prosperity and defense of the whole audiencia now imperiled its security because of the vulnerability of the Yungas and piedmont regions to insurgent activity. Indeed, Revuelta did not hesitate to underscore this point by noting that his haciendas had been burned to the ground and his crops destroyed by the rebels.

In drawing a new map, however, Revuelta highlighted the geographical and temporal reach of his local knowledge with far greater immediacy than his written report ever could. His inclusion of both routes to Mosetenés along with the dates of their opening (1797 and 1809) conveyed the message that Revuelta's experience reached spatially all the way from La Paz to Chulumani's frontiers while also stretching back in time over a decade to the 1790s. Who better, then, than this army captain and former subdelegado to provide effective leadership in defending the Yungas territories against insurgency and in preventing the insurgents' infiltration of the lowlands?

In light of the rebel threat, the colonization of the Amazon faded from view as an immediate objective; the priority now was to hinder the dangerous mobility of the insurgents by gaining control of the Yungas roads and preventing their infiltration of the tropical lowlands. At the same time, Revuelta attempted to stake out an advantageous position in a volatile political landscape that, with the repression of the junta, held the promise of new political and economic opportunities. Amid these tumultuous circumstances, pathways and waterways were still crucial to envisioning the Yungas and the tropical frontier, but the significance that he attributed to them, along with the purpose of his mapmaking, had been transformed.

Conclusions

It is unclear what effects, if any, Revuelta's new map produced. However, in a brief communication dated 1814, the intendant of La Paz reported that the

82. Ibid. Emphasis added.

resurrected missionary venture had made precious little progress, although the Mosetenés continued to visit Chulumani, where they received regular gifts from district authorities.⁸³ The story of Revuelta's achievements in colonizing the Mosetenés frontier is one of failure and frustration; as Santamaría suggests, his Mosetenés venture may well have been "quixotic." Read alongside Revuelta's writings, however, the maps reveal the venture's political and economic concerns, which preoccupied the landowning and merchant classes of La Paz as well as the viceregal government and crown.

The significance of his maps, however, goes beyond providing a new perspective on a colorful individual and his imaginative construction of an ultimately unsuccessful venture. Studying them sheds light on frontier mapping from a geographical vantage point largely overlooked by existing studies on cartographic culture in late colonial Spanish America. In part, Revuelta's maps are of value as historical documents precisely because of the relative scarcity of other detailed maps of Chulumani district and the wider piedmont. Revuelta's small cartographic archive compellingly conveys the awareness among colonial officials of the extent to which cartography mattered; one of the few subdelegados to have mapped any part of the Intendancy of La Paz by century's end, he was clearly conscious of his cartographic advantage and was determined to deploy it in fulfilling his duties and pursuing economic and political interests. These interests were not confined to the local sphere but were shaped in part by regional rivalries between the recently formed intendancies of Cochabamba and La Paz over territorial boundaries and coca cultivation in the tropical lowlands. As Revuelta's 1797 maps show, the intensified interest in geography and territorial boundaries that accompanied the introduction of the intendancy system importantly shaped the mapping of Upper Peru's piedmont frontiers.

Building on Sellers-García's work, this case study suggests that mapmaking may have constituted a significant element in late colonial notions of the centrality of particular places, for the existence of detailed maps indicated the presence of the state in the form of dedicated and capable administrators. Moreover, Revuelta underscored the centrality of Mosetenés and Chulumani by making the cartographic argument that they constituted central nodes on routes connecting the Andean highlands to zones of key economic and geopolitical significance in the tropical lowlands. In this regard, his maps provide

83. "El Gobernador Intendente de la Provincia de la Paz en el Perú acusa Recibo de la Real Orden que expresa relativa a las Misiones de Indios que hay en ella . . .," La Paz, 11 June 1814, AGI, Lima 1607.

further evidence for the vital importance of both routes and the experience of travel to late colonial conceptions of space, even as the notion of space-as-surface and the demarcation of territorial boundaries gained prominence.

More than this, however, Revuelta's cartographic and textual arguments about the importance of Mosetenés provide fresh evidence that the internal frontiers of late colonial Charcas were understood not just on their own terms—that is, as discrete zones of frontier expansion that offered specific natural and human resources—but in relation to competing ventures elsewhere in the piedmont as well as more distant frontiers, in particular the boundaries with Brazil. Closer study of the eastern piedmont, then, may foster deeper understandings of frontier dynamics throughout the tropical lowlands by revealing how multiple frontiers were interconnected and interdependent, in an imaginative as well as a material sense. Indeed, Revuelta's engagements with Aymerich's and Sobreviela's maps suggest that historians who examine the eastern piedmont should be sensitive to how the circulation of maps and texts at varied geographical scales could inform how even modest frontier ventures were conceived, carried out, and represented.

During the years of conflict preceding independence, however, the colonization of the Amazon faded from view. Revuelta's 1810 map and his associated writings reflect this shift in perspective with remarkable clarity. As a loyalist, Revuelta surely anticipated a return to the colonial status quo and the resumption of the Mosetenés venture, rudely interrupted by the outbreak of rebellion. Amid the political upheavals of 1809, however, he provisionally resignified Chulumani and the frontier within a narrative of loyalist resistance in which he accorded himself a central role. As a tool of governance, Revuelta's map also signaled a significant shift in purpose. Whereas the maps of 1797, produced during his tenure as subdelegado, promoted movement into the Amazon, his new map was created to prevent perilous mobilities—that is, to hinder the movement of the rebels into the forests of Mosetenés and beyond.

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The “Barbarous Game”: *Entrudo* and Its Critics in Rio de Janeiro, 1810s–1850s

Hendrik Kraay

Abstract This article examines the pre-Lenten festivities labeled *entrudo* in early nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro and traces the efforts to repress them, which enjoyed a measure of success by the mid-1850s. During this period, the predominant form of pre-Lenten revelry involved various forms of water play that transgressed the boundaries between the sexes but tended to respect other social hierarchies. After independence, authorities and members of a self-proclaimed “civilized” elite sought to repress what they condemned as a “barbarous” game. These efforts obtained some success in the 1840s and 1850s as masked balls and parading by elite carnival societies came to dominate middle- and upper-class forms of celebration, although *entrudo* persisted longer among the lower classes. Based on travelers’ accounts and the extensive newspaper debates about *entrudo* and its repression, this article analyzes a major cultural change among the Brazilian capital’s elite.

One evening just before the start of Lent in 1844, the French chargé d’affaires’s residence in Rio de Janeiro was attacked. The Count of Ney had just finished hosting a dinner for Théophile de Ferrière Le Vayer, commander of a French naval expedition en route to China. After dinner, the diplomat’s guests gathered at the windows overlooking the narrow street to watch the “animated scenes” as residents poured water from bottles, carafes, and buckets on hapless passersby. Suddenly, one of the dinner guests was hit in the chest by a waxen ball containing perfumed water. Before they could take cover, Ney and Ferrière Le Vayer were struck by a hail of “elegant projectiles.” Peals of laughter from the house across the street revealed the attack’s origin: chaperoned by their father and younger brother, the girls who resided there had launched it. Although Ney had only just arrived in the Brazilian capital, he

The Latin American Research Centre (University of Calgary), the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, and the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior funded this research. Earlier versions were presented at the IX Congress of the Brazilian Studies Association, Tulane University, March 27–29, 2008; and to the Latin American History Working Group, University of Chicago, January 10, 2013. I thank Aiala Levy and the other participants for their comments. Two anonymous *HAHR* readers provided helpful feedback.

knew what to do. He quickly sent out for ammunition and armed his guests with a stock of multicolored waxen balls; for the rest of the evening, “fierce combat” raged through the windows on both sides of the street.¹

What Ferrière Le Vayer participated in that evening was one of the major ways that nineteenth-century Brazilians celebrated before Lent. A variety of customs including banquets, water fights, the throwing of wax balls filled with perfumed water, practical jokes, and other rougher play characterized what was then known as *entrudo*. While the attack on the French diplomat’s residence was all in good fun, *entrudo* could become violent if victims reacted badly to getting doused or, worse yet, if perpetrators failed to respect social hierarchies. Over the course of the nineteenth century, Brazilian authorities waged a lengthy war against *entrudo*, repeatedly banning it. In the second half of the 1840s, members of Rio de Janeiro’s elite began celebrating carnival with masked balls, while in the 1850s, elite societies devoted to carnival festivities began staging public parades during the days before Lent.² Both of these activities were presented as appropriate and acceptable alternatives to the old *entrudo*; they quickly spread to provincial centers. A few scholars still dismiss *entrudo* as a barbarous game, much as contemporary critics did,³ but most now recognize that the celebrations labeled *entrudo* were deliberately—if not very effectively—repressed by what Maria Clementina Pereira Cunha describes as a self-proclaimed “liberal and progressive” elite whose members sought to “civilize” themselves and impose their views of appropriate behavior and use of urban public space.⁴ Rather than reduce *entrudo* to carnival’s prelude or interpret its decline as a Brazilian version of early modern European elites’ withdrawal from popular culture (Peter Burke’s familiar argument),⁵ I focus on what descriptions of *entrudo* and the debate about efforts to repress it can tell us about early nineteenth-century Brazil.

In its etymology, *entrudo* (or, more rarely, *intrudo*) apparently derived from the Latin *introito*—entry or introduction to Lent. *Entrudo* and carnival were merely different ways of celebrating before the fasting and other solemnities of Lent, and, when used to refer to time, *entrudo* had much the same connotations

1. Ferrière Le Vayer, *Une ambassade*, 64–65.

2. Queiroz, *Carnaval*, 50–59; Araújo, *Festas*, 169–201; Ferreira, *Inventando*, 40–177; Ferreira, *O livro*, 104–55; Cunha, *Ecos*, 87–149.

3. Araújo, *Carnaval*, 38; Tinhorão, *A imprensa*, 89; Flores, “Do entrudo,” 160.

4. Cunha, *Ecos*, 87–149 (quote on 88); Araújo, *Festas*, 169–296; Lazzari, *Coisas*, 197–222. Some link this cultural transformation to a rising bourgeoisie or to the emergence of a class society, approaches that impose overly rigid models on Brazilian society.

Ferreira, *O livro*, 101; Ferreira, *Inventando*, 31, 33; Simson, “Family,” 326, 339; Queiroz, *Carnaval*, 50.

5. Burke, *Popular Culture*, 270–81.

as carnival has today: the three days before Lent.⁶ What makes entrudo so difficult to grasp, however, is the variety of activities in which different groups engaged. In 1855, the *Jornal do Commercio's* *cronista* claimed for himself and his class a certain kind of entrudo and disparaged the entrudos of other social groups:

Our entrudo was elegant, delicate, perfumed; it was tender and dainty, like the Brazilian affair that it was; our entrudo was not the infernal racket of the African brutality on street corners, nor the offensive brutality of the residents of commercial streets pouring buckets [of water] on all who passed by. Our entrudo was the delicate sphere of thin wax surrounding a bit of fragrant water that a sure hand launched from a distance like a kiss of love, where lips could not be sent. No matter how savage was the savagery of some *entrudistas*, our entrudo never, never armed itself with rotten or fresh eggs.

However much this *cronista*, the author of a periodic column, or *crônica*, sought to distinguish his entrudo from that of rowdy Africans or disreputable shop clerks, these forms of celebration overlapped and interacted in significant ways; he complained that critics of the "barbarous game" had lumped all these entrudo activities together, leaving them all equally "dead and buried."⁷

Mapping the full range of pre-Lenten celebrations in early nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro—one of this article's main purposes—is difficult. As anthropologist Max Harris has noted, "the story of Carnival tends to be one of subsequent prohibitions," often the earliest traces of it in the historical record; Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán adds that the best descriptions of pre-Lenten revelry come from periods just before its decline.⁸ In the Brazilian capital, the first prohibitions date from the mid-1820s. The *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (1808–1822), the city's first newspaper, never mentioned entrudo, and the partisan political press of the 1820s rarely alluded to it. Only for the 1830s and 1840s does the press become a useful, if idiosyncratic, source for studying pre-Lenten festivities. Newspapers documented the efforts to repress entrudo, but their fullest discussions of it came in the form of *crônicas*, columns about events of interest to readers.⁹ Their authors (most of them unidentified and unknown today) were part of Brazil's small literary elite. They framed their descriptions of popular and elite customs within the terms of the debate about entrudo and

6. Ferreira, *O livro*, 29; Cunha, *Ecos*, 25; Araújo, *Folganças*, 37.

7. "A semana" (folhetim), *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 25 Feb. 1855.
(Hereafter this newspaper will be cited as *JC*.)

8. Harris, *Carnival*, 143; Viqueira Albán, *Propriety*, 103.

9. On *crônicas*, see Chalhoub, Neves, and Pereira, *História*; Pereira, *O Carnaval*, 273–75.

either criticized or (more rarely) defended entrudo; often they satirized the whole debate.¹⁰ Foreign travelers, however, regularly described entrudo—frequently with large doses of bemusement and bafflement—and the 25 who wrote about the festivities in these decades constitute a major source for this article.

Historian John Chasteen has observed that the “great mystery” of carnival is the “ambivalence concerning the social meaning of the festival. Does it confirm the very social hierarchies that it appears temporarily to alter, or does it offer a space where challenges to hierarchy can grow and develop?”¹¹ This is, of course, the classic question with which students of festivals have long struggled. No simple answer is possible for entrudo. There is ample evidence that its revelry conformed to social hierarchies (a point that Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz emphasizes for all carnival celebrations).¹² However, there are also many indications that entrudo loosened some social hierarchies. The campaign against entrudo and the occasional incidents of entrudo violence suggest growing discomfort with that loosening of social hierarchies, as well as fear that dangerous threats to the social order lurked under the cover of entrudo revelry. In this light, Cunha suggests that historians should focus on the social meaning of the conflicts and debates surrounding carnival and consider the festival’s significance for those who participated in it.¹³ Chasteen’s recent observation that “transgressing normal boundaries of class, race, gender, and approved social comportment was the permanent, ongoing activity of almost everybody who played carnival in nineteenth-century Latin America” suggests ways of looking at entrudo that avoid seeing it as an anarchic activity, a practice that conformed to existing hierarchies, or a temporary inversion of those hierarchies. His provocative argument that such “carnivalesque transgressions can be generative of social change” is, however, difficult to apply to early nineteenth-century entrudo.¹⁴

While pre-Lenten celebrations had a long, mostly undocumented history in Brazil, it appears that the decades from the 1810s to the 1850s constituted a distinct period during which forms of water play predominated. Those who mentioned other activities such as masking and parading saw them as things of the past. Jean-Baptiste Debret recalled that he once saw blacks costumed as old-fashioned Europeans, whose noble gestures they imitated as they paraded to the

10. Cunha finds much the same pattern in the late nineteenth-century press. Cunha, *Ecos*, 72–73.

11. Chasteen, “Prehistory,” 29.

12. Queiroz, *Carnaval*.

13. Cunha, *Ecos*, 15, 311–12. For a similar approach, see Humphrey, *Politics*.

14. Chasteen, “Anything Goes,” 136–37, 134.

sound of music, but he added that this sort of inversion ritual was a rare and declining custom, while Carl O. Schlichthorst, also in Rio de Janeiro in the 1820s, remarked that such "old masquerades . . . scarcely survived."¹⁵ Commentators described entrudo as a Portuguese tradition but usually added that Brazilians had already cleaned up the "savage and barbarous" custom, an argument that conveniently disparaged the former mother country.¹⁶

Nonetheless, from the 1820s, entrudo provoked numerous anxieties on the part of authorities and journalists who campaigned to repress the allegedly barbarous game; analyzing the debate about entrudo's repression is this article's second purpose. Spirited defenses of entrudo on the part of some journalists and enthusiastic entrudo revelry by people of all classes suggest that the festival's critics enjoyed but limited support, at least initially. By the 1850s, the critics could claim some success; while practices labeled entrudo continued through the nineteenth century, this decade marked an important turning point as members of the elite largely abandoned domestic entrudo customs in favor of masked balls and parades.

Rio de Janeiro, capital of the Brazilian empire (1822–1889), grew from a colonial outpost to a cosmopolitan center of 205,000 people, according to an 1849 census. Slaves accounted for close to four-tenths of the population, and, despite restrictions on it, the slave trade brought thousands of Africans to the city every year until its suppression in 1850–1851.¹⁷ Portuguese immigrants, African and Brazilian-born slaves, freed and free people of color, diplomats from around the Atlantic world, foreign sailors and travelers, Brazilians from nearby coffee and sugar plantations or remote provinces, all were caught up in entrudo. As the 1855 cronista recognized, entrudo was a plural practice, shaped by the race, class, and gender hierarchies of Rio de Janeiro's society.

From House to Street and Back Again: Entrudo Celebrations

Entrudo involved people of all classes, although not equally or in the same way. Writing about 1838, Daniel Kidder explained that, unlike "snow-balling in cold countries," entrudo was not confined to boys, or to the streets; rather, it was "played in high-life as well as in low, in-doors and out."¹⁸ In 1852, Robert Schenck wrote to his daughters that "people of all ages, colors and conditions

15. Debret, *Viagem*, 1:220; Schlichthorst, *O Rio*, 118. See also Walsh, *Notices*, 2:383.

16. "O entrudo," *O Republico* (Rio de Janeiro), 6 Mar. 1854. See also Souza, *Viagens*, 80–81; *O Simplicio da Roça* (Rio de Janeiro), 11 Mar. 1832.

17. I survey Rio's nineteenth-century society in Kraay, *Days*, 13–22.

18. Kidder, *Sketches*, 1:147–48.

[were] perfectly wild with frolic and sports" during this time.¹⁹ Even Emperor Pedro I took no notice of police edicts that banned entrudo; Robert Walsh described him as "so fond of it" that he spent the three days playing entrudo "with his children and friends."²⁰ In 1826, Pedro and much of his court were at sea en route to Bahia during these three days. A courtier who had remained behind, Henrique Garcez Pinto de Madureira, revealed that entrudo was an expected part of court life when he asked Francisco Gomes da Silva (nicknamed Chalaça [Joker]), one of the emperor's rowdy intimates, whether they had played it.²¹ At the other end of the social hierarchy, F. Dabadie noted in 1851 that these three days were "the best of the year" for slaves; they eagerly and cheerfully wet each other.²²

Historians have frequently distinguished between domestic and street entrudo, but Alexandre Lazzari suggests that the model of a strictly domestic entrudo amounts to "something close to fiction."²³ The house and street dichotomy—in which the house embodies the patriarchal order that the rough-and-tumble world of the street negates—has figured prominently in analyses of Brazilian culture,²⁴ but the distinction can be overdrawn. In the case of entrudo, there was considerable interaction—in both directions—between the two modes of celebration. More important, it appears that, by the 1840s, there were distinct forms of street entrudo, with very different relations to domestic entrudo.

Domestic, or quasi-domestic, entrudo typically began in early afternoon and lasted until evening.²⁵ This is, of course, roughly the hottest time of day in the Brazilian summer, and one traveler commented that such water play was "appropriate to the climate."²⁶ Before the water play, revelers usually sat down

19. Robert C. Schenck to his daughters, Rio de Janeiro, 23 Feb. 1852, in Peskin and Ramos, "Ohio Yankee," 508.

20. Walsh, *Notices*, 2:382. See also Champagnac, *O Brasil*, 38.

21. Henrique Garcez Pinto de Madureira to Francisco Gomes da Silva, Rio de Janeiro, 6 Feb. 1826, Arquivo Histórico do Museu Imperial, Petrópolis (hereafter cited as AHMI), I-POB-06.02.1826-Gar.c, doc. 1.

22. Dabadie, *A travers*, 13–14.

23. Lazzari, *Coisas*, 76. Scholars who make this distinction include Araújo, *Festas*, 125–35, 245–46; Ferreira, *Inventando*, 29–30, 33–34; Ferreira, *O livro*, 81–93; Tinhorão, *A imprensa*, 117; and (to some extent) Cunha, *Ecos*, 55, 262. At one point, Felipe Ferreira offers a more nuanced view, closer to mine: Ferreira, *O livro*, 94–95.

24. DaMatta, *A casa*; Graham, *House*.

25. For the hours during which entrudo took place, see Ebel, *O Rio*, 37 (noon until Ave Maria); Yvan, *Romance*, 166 (2:00 p.m. to evening); Manet, *Lettres*, 55–56, 59 (3:00–6:00 p.m.); Debret, *Viagem*, 1:220–21 (after lunch until Ave Maria).

26. Lavollée, *Voyage*, 41.

for a banquet, the old Christian custom of feasting before Lent.²⁷ Such banquets hardly satisfied gastronomes, however, for diners hastily wolfed down their food in anticipation of the water play. Shops did brisk business as eggs, cheeses, hams, and wine flew from the shelves in the days leading up to entrudo, and one wag commented that "chickens, turkeys, calves, and piglets cursed the three days of entrudo with as much fervor as they blessed the 40 days of Christian abstinence" during Lent.²⁸

Few foreign travelers had sufficiently good relations with Brazilians that they were invited to participate in domestic entrudo celebrations. The British artist Augustus Earle evidently had entrée to a Rio de Janeiro household, whose lively celebrations he painted (figure 1). A Brazilian took Walsh to visit a friend in 1828, "and the first salutation [that] we received, was a shower of green and yellow eggs pelted in our faces, by all the fair females of the family."²⁹ Likewise, Thomas Ewbank saw the owners of the boarding house at which he was staying in 1846 welcome the vicar with a salutation of perfumed water. He also described the numerous practical jokes that people played on each other.³⁰

The liquid-filled waxen balls with which Walsh and the vicar were welcomed came in a variety of shapes and colors. Some resembled apples, oranges, lemons, pears, and melons; Ewbank also saw a "superior kind" that looked like "bottles or decanters" and were "decorated with paint and gilding." These contained "cologne or other scented waters."³¹ One entrepreneur produced them in the form of busts of famous people, without advertising those whom he thus satirized.³² Most commonly, such projectiles were called *limões de cheiro* (perfumed lemons), *laranjas* (oranges), or *laranjinhas* (little oranges).

Entrudo ammunition did not come cheap: Ernst Ebel reported in 1824 that limões cost 20 to 40 reis each (US\$0.02–0.04). Sellers may well have been taking advantage of this German visitor, for Debret noted that limões cost half as much: 20 reis for a large one and 10 reis for a small one.³³ "Immense quantities" of them were prepared for sale in 1838, reported Kidder, and John Mawe heard in 1808 that "many hundreds of people derive a temporary subsistence from the

27. Caro Baroja, *El carnaval*, 93–99; Burke, *Popular Culture*, 183.

28. "Domingo gordo" (folhetim), *JC*, 1 Mar. 1840. See also "O entrudo e o Carnaval," *O Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro), 24 Feb. 1846; "O entrudo" (folhetim), *JC*, 21–22 Feb. 1841.

29. Walsh, *Notices*, 2:380. See also Kidder, *Sketches*, 1:147; Langsdorff, *Diário*, 132.

30. Ewbank, *Life*, 98–100, 102.

31. *Ibid.*, 96, 98.

32. *Vendas*, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro), 25 Feb. 1843. (Hereafter this newspaper will be cited as *DRJ*.)

33. Ebel, *O Rio*, 38; Debret, *Viagem*, 1:219.



Figure 1. Domestic entrudo celebrations, ca. 1822. Augustus Earle, "Games during the Carnival at Rio de Janeiro," National Library of Australia, pic-an2822612-v.

sale of them," an argument often trotted out by those who questioned efforts to repress entrudo.³⁴ Making limões was not just a lower-class activity. The women in upper-class households also produced them, although apparently only for domestic use; the Baroness von Langsdorff spent a pleasant day in 1843 making limões with the ladies in the household of the French chargé d'affaires, the Chevalier de Saint Georges (a man who had, along with his family, adopted many Brazilian customs).³⁵

As Walsh observed, women initiated the throwing of wax balls in domestic settings, but men could then respond in kind. Ewbank added that women applied the "waxen wash-balls . . . in the manner of soap and water" on men's faces, indicating physical contact initiated by women. Entrudo wrought a dramatic change in women's comportment: Walsh remarked that their normal

34. Kidder, *Sketches*, 1:147; Mawe, *Travels*, 85. See also *O Simplicio da Roça* (Rio de Janeiro), 11 Mar. 1832; "O entrudo visto por duas faces," *A Marmota na Corte* (Rio de Janeiro), 4 Mar. 1851; "O entrudo.—Os bailes mascarados," *A Marmota na Corte* (Rio de Janeiro), 7 Mar. 1851; "A semana" (folhetim), *JC*, 26 Feb. 1854; "Visita das priminhas," *Periodico dos Pobres* (Rio de Janeiro), 25 Feb. 1854; "Sem titulo" (folhetim), *DRJ*, 14 June 1855.

35. Langsdorff, *Diário*, 130–32. See also Debret, *Viagem*, 1:219.

"gravity and timidity" gave way to "inextinguishable merriment," and Ewbank concurred.³⁶ Entrudo thus relaxed gender conventions; young women enjoyed considerably more liberty than they normally did, with that liberty however carefully restricted to the safe confines of the home, at which only invited guests were welcome. By initiating entrudo play, women could identify the objects of their affection; men's responses were tests of their intentions.³⁷ By keeping this play indoors, patriarchs sought to ensure that their daughters would meet only suitable prospects. Many marriages had their origins in entrudo encounters, commented journalists, and one characterized entrudo as "Cupid's first-born."³⁸ Young women reportedly took pride in the number of times that they had to change clothes, for that reflected the number and ardor of their entrudo suitors.³⁹ Chasteen has recently noted that this aspect of pre-Lenten water play—that it pitted girls against boys—has been largely overlooked by historians. In his view, it amounted to testing the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable interaction between the sexes; needless to say, it provoked numerous anxieties.⁴⁰ Debret commented that middle-aged people were especially eager participants and consumed an "enormous quantity" of limões de cheiro; a journalist noted that old men loved to wet the girls, who of course preferred the attentions of young lads.⁴¹

Other than offering a degree of freedom for women, domestic entrudo respected social hierarchies. It offered no respite from household slaves' usual subordination. Victor-Athanase Gendrin, whose business interests took him to Rio de Janeiro several times between 1816 and 1822, described how household slaves bore entrudo munitions for their masters.⁴² In 1843, Saint Georges received Langsdorff and her party with a hail of water-filled balls; behind him stood a slave holding a basket of ammunition. Throughout the house, slaves carried limões de cheiro and jugs of water while the slave children quietly stood by: "This respect of the little blacks for the childish games of their white mistresses" much impressed the baroness (the slaves in Earle's watercolor are

36. Ewbank, *Life*, 100; Walsh, *Notices*, 2:381.

37. Cunha, *Ecos*, 60–64; Araújo, *Folganças*, 48–50; Simson, "Mulher," 9–10.

38. "O entrudo" (folhetim), *JC*, 21–22 Feb. 1841. See also "O entrudo.—Os bailes mascarados," *A Marmota na Corte* (Rio de Janeiro), 7 Mar. 1851.

39. Debret, *Viagem*, 1:221; "O entrudo visto por duas faces," *A Marmota na Corte* (Rio de Janeiro), 4 Mar. 1851.

40. Chasteen, "Anything Goes," 140, 142–43, 146.

41. Debret, *Viagem*, 1:220; "O entrudo e o Carnaval," *O Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro), 24 Feb. 1846.

42. Gendrin, *Récit*, 88.

engaged in similar tasks [figure 1]).⁴³ Felipe Ferreira has suggested that revelers rarely targeted patriarchs, although I have found no indication of this in the press or in travelers' accounts.⁴⁴ Earle's central male figure has just been hit in the eye (a woman is helping him to clean it), but he is already reaching for more ammunition (figure 1).

Street entrudo was rougher sport, and many, referring to Debret's account, have characterized it as dominated by black men and women who played among themselves.⁴⁵ The French artist described how their games began early on the Sunday morning at public water fountains. With free water and cheap flour, black men wet and whitened black women by smearing their hair and faces (figure 2). In the evening, the rowdiest of them gathered on city squares and beaches to wet and dunk each other. A police report that one slave injured another with a barrel while throwing water in 1847 confirms Debret's account.⁴⁶ Walsh saw "whole baskets of flour discharged" on the hapless victims and added that "blacks and mulattos . . . look[ed] exceedingly grotesque when ornamented in this way."⁴⁷ The meaning of this activity remains unclear. One historian suggests that it turned some black men into simulacra of their masters, who could then be mocked.⁴⁸

Travelers often noted that street entrudo conformed to Brazilian social hierarchies. Debret observed that even the "rowdiest" blacks were "always respectful toward whites," and Ewbank likewise noted that the "young black rascals . . . seldom molest any except their own color; but white boys use no ceremony in washing the Ethiops."⁴⁹ Respect for social hierarchies, however, was not so easy to secure. One of the major criticisms of entrudo was that street revelers either deliberately or inadvertently offended respectable citizens going about their business. In 1853, the *Jornal do Commercio* complained that "gangs of blacks" doused and dirtied all who passed; five years earlier, a citizen grumbled about the police's failure to control the insulting behavior of the "black street urchins" (*moleques*) who gathered on Ouvidor Street (the fashionable shopping district) to drag "peaceful people" into puddles.⁵⁰ Such evidence suggests either that Debret's and Ewbank's reports of blacks' respect for

43. Langsdorff, *Diário*, 132.

44. Ferreira, *O livro*, 84.

45. Araújo, *Festas*, 134–35; Ferreira, *O livro*, 93; Queiroz, *Carnaval*, 47.

46. Debret, *Viagem*, 1:220; *JC*, 16 Feb. 1847.

47. Walsh, *Notices*, 2:381.

48. Cunha, *Ecos*, 57–58.

49. Debret, *Viagem*, 1:220; Ewbank, *Life*, 100.

50. *JC*, 10 Feb. 1853; "O entrudo na Rua do Ouvidor" (*a pedido*), *JC*, 7 Mar. 1848.



Figure 2. Street entrudo celebrations, ca. 1820s.
Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, ou séjour d'un artiste français au Brésil, depuis 1816, jusqu'en 1831, inclusivement, époques de l'avénement et de l'abdication de S. M. D. Pedro 1er, fondateur de l'empire brésilien*, 3 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1834–9), vol. 2, plate 33.

social hierarchies were overdrawn or that, by midcentury, such subordination could no longer be taken for granted.

Not surprisingly, then, some sought to avoid entrudo revelries. Ebel reported that many families quit Rio de Janeiro during these days in 1824. Two years later, a certain André told Garcez that he would spend entrudo at his father-in-law's plantation, and Garcez himself, despite reveling in the stories that he recounted to Chalaça, admitted that, "for fear of the entrudo," he had "not gone out into the street."⁵¹ Luiz Joaquim dos Santos Marrocos remained "cloistered" in his home in 1812, and travelers also noted this way of avoiding entrudo.⁵²

Domestic entrudo celebrations extended into the street, from which most foreigners got their only view of entrudo. Ebel explained that families turned their waxen balls and water buckets on passersby; "even ladies of quality [found] it funny to wet a passing black," presumably from the safety of their upper-story windows, a ritualized reproduction of the violence that upheld slavery.⁵³ Foreigners and Brazilian visitors were also favored targets. The officers of one ship carrying forty-niners en route to California gave "a horrible description of the place" after a quick shore visit on Shrove Tuesday when "everyone [was]

51. Ebel, *O Rio*, 38; Garcez to Silva, Rio de Janeiro, 6 Feb. 1826, AHMI, I-POB-06.02.1826-Gar.c, doc. 1.

52. Luiz Joaquim dos Santos Marrocos to his sister, Rio de Janeiro, 31 Mar. 1812, in Marrocos, "Cartas," 68; Debret, *Viagem*, 1:221; Dabadie, *A travers*, 13.

53. Ebel, *O Rio*, 37–38.

privileged to throw as much water as convenient upon everyone else.”⁵⁴ Typographers reportedly prepared giant water balloons out of old newspapers and dropped them on the heads of visiting country folk in 1846.⁵⁵

Rather than waddle like a duck through the aquatic onslaught (Jules Itier’s description of city residents), Domingo Faustino Sarmiento spent a day at the botanical gardens.⁵⁶ Other travelers offered suggestions for staying dry. Charles Lavollée recommended keeping to the middle of the streets to avoid getting doused by “more or less clean water” or hit by projectiles containing “dubious perfume,” and Kidder advised carrying an umbrella (for the use of an umbrella, see also figure 2).⁵⁷ Such advice would have helped little, to judge by Walsh’s account; if the intended victims managed to avoid getting wetted by the women crowded in the upper windows, on street level “crowds of men stood with large syringes, and gamellas [basins], containing several gallons of water, which they ejected in a continued current” on the victim.⁵⁸ Still others warned, as Ewbank did, that it was “useless to get vexed” at an entrudo dousing, for such a reaction would only elicit a “fresh shower” or further hilarity. When drenched by a pitcher of water from a balcony, Dabadie explained that all that he could do was privately “curse the male or female executioner,” even though he wanted to throw stones at the house.⁵⁹

Other projectiles also rained down on passersby. Ferrière Le Vayer saw “dolls made of tow” thrown out of windows after the 1844 dinner; some soaked these straw-filled rag dolls before launching them.⁶⁰ In 1842, a justice of the peace in Candelária parish fined two businesses because people in the upper stories were throwing “dolls tied to cords” down on people in the street.⁶¹ Presumably, the fun lay in deftly knocking off the victim’s hat, in which case this may have been a forerunner to the attacks on top hats common later in the century, which can be read as symbolic acts of class conflict.⁶²

54. James Wall Schureman to Mary E. Schureman, Rio de Janeiro, 20 Feb. 1849, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, 84/73c.

55. “O entrudo e o Carnaval,” *O Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro), 24 Feb. 1846.

56. Itier, *Journal*, 1:99; Sarmiento, *Viajes*, 63.

57. Lavollée, *Voyage*, 41; Kidder, *Sketches*, 1:148.

58. Walsh, *Notices*, 2:380–81.

59. Ewbank, *Life*, 100; Dabadie, *A travers*, 13. See also Ebel, *O Rio*, 37; Schenck to his daughters, Rio de Janeiro, 23 Feb. 1852, in Peskin and Ramos, “Ohio Yankee,” 508.

60. Ferrière Le Vayer, *Une ambassade*, 64. See also “O entrudo e o Carnaval,” *O Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro), 24 Feb. 1846.

61. *JC*, 9 Feb. 1842. See also Cunha, *Ecos*, 326n112.

62. Cunha, *Ecos*, 51–53; Pereira, *O Carnaval*, 276–78.

Street entrudo could also penetrate homes, an important transgression of social boundaries. The young Édouard Manet found 1849's entrudo "quite amusing," for he was both "victim and actor." He had filled his pockets with limões and, whenever he was attacked, he responded as best he could; he reassured his mother and his cousin that, if Brazilian women initiated the engagement from windows, it was legitimate for men to throw limões back.⁶³ Debret reported that people in houses normally gestured to indicate their permission to start entrudo games but that revelers did not always abide by this convention. Open windows alone were sufficient invitation to throw limões, while closed windows were regularly broken by revelers (who presumably hurled rocks before they tossed limões). Debret explained that others more sensibly cleared the furniture from their front rooms and opened the windows to receive whatever might come in.⁶⁴

Dabadie made the doubtful claim that if the ball of perfumed water was thrown by a "pretty senhora," men had the "incontestable right" to enter the house and to plant a kiss on her lips.⁶⁵ In this case, aggression from the house constituted a sort of invitation, but others perhaps misinterpreted the message. In 1824, Ebel saw two foreign officers try to enter a house from which they had been doused. They were met with such "aquatic fury" that they beat a hasty retreat.⁶⁶ These men got off lightly. Schlichthorst reported the nasty practice of filling limões with diluted nitric acid, and one cronista alluded to limões filled with pitch; the latter were reserved for the "rascal neighbor" who made unwelcome advances on wives or daughters.⁶⁷

Others, like the cloistered Marrocos, complained that they had been "attacked at home."⁶⁸ In 1836, Mary Robinson Hunter, the wife of the US minister to Brazil, noted in her diary that, once again, the time of the "barbarous custom" had returned and added that "I have just given orders to keep the front door fastened as last year our house was invaded by these privileged intruders and no displeasure will check their approach. *Au contraire*, it seems to give a zest to their mirth to see it excites displeasure, as it often does in those who are unacquainted with the customs of the Country." In this case, barricading

63. Manet, *Lettres*, 55–56, 58–59.

64. Debret, *Viagem*, 1:221. See also Ebel, *O Rio*, 37; Belmann, *Erindringer*, 47 (I thank Hanne Sigismund Nielsen for translating this text for me).

65. Dabadie, *A travers*, 13.

66. Ebel, *O Rio*, 38.

67. Schlichthorst, *O Rio*, 118; "Bailes Mascarados—Theatro de São Pedro—Theatro de S. Francisco" (folhetim), *JC*, 7 Mar. 1848.

68. Marrocos to his sister, Rio de Janeiro, 31 Mar. 1812, in Marrocos, "Cartas," 68.

herself indoors worked, and she did not suffer an *assalto* (assault), as such attacks were known.⁶⁹ Hunter offered no indication of who these “privileged intruders” were or why they targeted her home for an assalto. That she was an irascible foreigner who did not get along with her neighbors likely played a part (in which case the assalto amounted to a charivari), but others suffered them as well.

The midcentury practice of assaltos seems to have passed unnoticed by scholars.⁷⁰ In 1846, *O Mercantil* described a typical one. Residents playing entrudo from their windows suddenly saw a “party of bold shooters, roving entrudo cavalry in search of adventure.” Their “ragged and wet clothes” and their “determined tread and bold looks” struck fear into the hearts of the girls, unless they recognized the attackers. Some of the party threw limões at the windows to distract the household, while others ran up the stairs to assault the residence. An inadvertently unlocked door let the attackers in, and a chaotic battle took place throughout the house; hand-to-hand combat raged as attackers and defenders squashed limões on each other’s backs, shoulders, and chests (“connoisseurs” judged this the “best part of the festival”). Basins and jars of water were thrown, and, when not a drop was left in the house, attackers and defenders resorted to flour.⁷¹ One of Frederick William Briggs’s 1840 lithographs shows an assalto in which aggressive-looking men brandishing syringes clamber through open windows to assault cowering women (figure 3). In this respect, assaltos violated the sanctity of the home, long enshrined in Luso-Brazilian custom and law, although, as for other entrudo activities, there were limits to the practice.

The perpetrators of such assaltos appear to have been middle- or upper-class men out slumming in the streets (as the journalist noted, the girls might have recognized them). However, another journalist suggested that those who launched the assaltos might be unknown to their victims: “If a fellow with a saintly look knocks on your door and you open it, you will suddenly have an assalto by Pharisees who will flood everything,” he warned in 1852.⁷² In 1850, Francisco de Paula Brito claimed to have seen none of these “wolf packs” of “frenetic carnival adepts” who threw limões at windows “and launched assaltos

69. Hunter, *Diplomat’s Lady*, 44–45.

70. The only reference to assaltos in scholarship appears in a poem used by Ferreira as an epigraph, which he does not analyze. Ferreira, *Inventando*, 28–29.

71. “O entrudo e o Carnaval,” *O Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro), 24 Feb. 1846. For a literary account of a similar assalto, see Pereira da Cruz Júnior, “O entrudo,” *A Imprensa* (Rio de Janeiro), 13 Feb. 1853.

72. “Entrudo,” *O Magico* (Rio de Janeiro), 22 Feb. 1852.



Figure 3. An assault, 1840. Frederick William Briggs, "O jogo de entrudo," Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, Coleção Geyer. Reproduced with permission, Museu Imperial/Ibram/MinC/nº 20/2015.

against the homes" of unprepared citizens, although they had been common in previous years.⁷³

The 1846 *O Mercantil* article made the purpose of assaltos absolutely clear: "Young men like[d] very much" such entrudo entertainment, and young women did not find it entirely unpleasant. After all, young women with their hair loose and with wet clothes sticking to their bodies were just like statues of Venus, but marble could not compare to living statues. "Unfortunately," concluded the journalist wryly, "giving the connoisseurs of fine arts a moment of happiness" hardly compensated for the damage that entrudo did every year.⁷⁴ Such assaltos were a more aggressive form of the entrudo courting that took place under the watchful eye of parents in the home; they tested the boundaries of acceptable male-female interaction.

Domestic and street entrudo thus interacted in complex ways. Clear distinctions cannot be drawn between them, as domestic celebrations spilled out into the street and street celebrants penetrated homes. To be sure, most of these

73. Francisco de Paula Brito, "O Carnaval," *A Marmota na Corte* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 Feb. 1850.

74. "O entrudo e o Carnaval," *O Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro), 24 Feb. 1846.

activities still respected the social hierarchies of this patriarchal slave society, but some did not, and dangerous threats lurked below the surface of entrudo revelry, as revealed by an incident that Garcez described to Chalaça. One Moraes was at his window when “a certain fellow [dressed in a] suit struck him in the face with a laranjinha.” The “refreshing water” was not enough to cool the victim’s rage, and Moraes ordered his slaves to seize the man and dump him, fully clothed, into a water tank; at the victim’s request, they spared only his hat.⁷⁵ In this incident, a perhaps accidental violation of entrudo’s gender conventions prompted a master to order his slaves to attack a free man. While the slaves were acting on their master’s orders, the victim likely saw it as an assault by social inferiors; no doubt the slaves welcomed the opportunity to put a free man in his place.

Repression and Its Critics

For literally centuries, authorities had taken a dim view of entrudo. A 1604 decree issued in Lisbon instituted fines of one milreis on anyone, slave or free, who sprayed water with syringes during entrudo; slaves who threw stones or oranges during this time were to be arrested and only freed when their owner paid a fine of 500 reis. Furthermore, sentences for “stone throwing or entrudo” could not be appealed.⁷⁶ Systematic concern with entrudo in Brazil, however, began only after independence. During the 1810s, Rio de Janeiro’s police intendance expressed no preoccupation with pre-Lenten revelry, although it intervened in other aspects of street life.⁷⁷

In 1826, the police intendant prohibited people from setting out bowls and basins in the streets, for the practice of using them to douse people frequently led to disorder.⁷⁸ Two years later, he invoked the 1604 decree when he instructed his subordinates to prohibit entrudo games because of the offense that they caused to pedestrians and residents, on pain of fines of 500 reis to 1 milreis or 10 to 30 days in prison.⁷⁹ A new intendant refined his approach for 1830. In a rambling decree, he explained that “in a civilized society in which citizens’ conduct is regulated by laws whose only purpose is to secure their

75. Garcez to Silva, Rio de Janeiro, 6 Feb. 1826, AHMI, I-POB-06.02.1826-Gar.c, doc. 1.

76. Thomaz, *Repertorio*, 1:20, 393, 407.

77. Schultz, *Tropical Versailles*, 101–49; Kirsten Schultz, personal communication, 20 Feb. 2008.

78. *Declarações*, DRJ, 4 Feb. 1826.

79. *Edital* of 9 Feb. 1828, JC, 15 Feb. 1828.

happiness and comfort,” it was not appropriate to “tolerate games of public character when they and their abuse” can cause “disruptions in public order and attacks on individual security.” “Because all the well-known circumstances that accompany it lead to offenses and crimes,” even inadvertently on the part “of the good citizens who take part in it,” he exhorted all to “abstain from playing [entrudo] publicly, and in ways that upset public order.” The Santana parish justice of the peace effectively summarized the prolix intendant’s intent: given “that experience has shown the insults and crimes caused by the game of entrudo,” playing it outside was prohibited.⁸⁰

In November 1831, a new municipal bylaw banned entrudo, mandating fines ranging from two to twelve milreis or prison terms of two to eight days for free people; slaves would receive eight days in prison unless their owners ordered one hundred lashes to be administered at the police jail. Police patrols received the summary power to destroy any entrudo laranjas that they found and were to bring offenders before justices of the peace.⁸¹ On the eve of 1832’s entrudo, Sacramento parish’s acting justice of the peace publicized this ban on the “barbarous game” and hoped that citizens would observe it and prevent their slaves from playing, thereby demonstrating that “we belong to a nation that knows how to respect the law and how to abolish customs that barbarism has introduced.”⁸² Year after year, justices of the peace issued proclamations to remind their fellow citizens of the 1831 ordinance. Minor variations in such proclamations’ wording reveal the justices’ difficulty in defining what was prohibited and in enforcing the ban. In 1837, the Sacramento justice of the peace exhorted his fellow citizens to “refrain from playing in the streets or at windows,” noting that they were permitted to play entrudo games indoors, although the sale of laranjas de cheiro was banned.⁸³ His counterpart in Santana implored his fellow parishioners in 1839 to “spare [him] the distasteful task” of having to charge them under the terms of the anti-entrudo ordinances.⁸⁴ Kidder judged these decrees to be “nearly as laughter-making as the game itself.”⁸⁵

The 1826 anti-entrudo ordinance and an editorial in *O Spectador Brasileiro* laid out the authorities’ principal concerns. First, there was the matter of public

80. Edital of 16 Feb. 1830, published in both *JC*, 18 Feb. 1830, and *DRJ*, 19 Feb. 1830.

81. Edital of 29 Nov. 1831, *DRJ*, 6 Dec. 1831.

82. Edital, *JC*, 3 Mar. 1832.

83. Edital, *JC*, 1 Feb. 1837.

84. Edital, *JC*, 12 Feb. 1839.

85. Kidder, *Sketches*, 1:148.

order: entrudo violence had to be kept under control. *O Spectador* praised the police for having secured “extraordinary peace” that year. They did not interfere with “games appropriate to the season” but only worked to prevent disorder. Second, entrudo was also an urgent medical matter. The afternoon water fights took place after dinner, “a critical time for digestion,” and their excesses led to numerous deaths. Finally, the editors hoped that, “with the progressive increase of national civilization,” the “bad game” of entrudo would be replaced by “other entertainment”; they suggested the Tuscan and Roman carnivals as models. They foresaw entrudo’s demise as part of an ongoing process of cultural change, which had already done away with numerous archaic customs: sedan chairs carried by slaves, the disorderly crowning of kings and queens by African nations, and bullfights.⁸⁶

Order, public health, civilization, and (once anti-entrudo measures were firmly on the books) respect for the law—these were the themes on which entrudo’s critics harped for the next three decades. They repeatedly invoked “barbarism” as the antithesis of the “civilization” to which they aspired, applying this capacious category to all who failed to live up to their standards. Much of the evidence for the criticisms of entrudo, however, comes from crônicas whose authors, while generally agreeing on the need to eliminate entrudo (or at least its excesses), nevertheless mocked the critics’ seriousness.⁸⁷ Briggs’s 1840 lithograph, “Os resultados do entrudo” (The entrudo’s results), reflects this ambivalence (figure 4). From left to right, it encapsulates the principal criticisms: entrudo left expectant women lamenting the money wasted by their husbands; men suffered from colds or worse (the man is carrying a plucked chicken to make soup to treat his illness); slaves got lashes, while free men did jail time; others suffered injuries or even death. Still, with each of the images framed by syringes, the lithograph can be read as a satire.

While the anti-entrudo measures of the 1820s suggest a growing concern with the celebrations, the immediate context for the first identifiable round of entrudo repression was the tense political climate surrounding Pedro I’s April 1831 abdication. Like the police, the Exaltados (radical liberals) at the forefront of the campaign to limit the emperor’s power took a dim view of entrudo. On Shrove Tuesday of 1831, Ezequiel Correia dos Santos lamented: “Whoever plays entrudo in the streets / Demonstrates complete idiocy / . . . / By these games, this nonsense / Her [the nation’s] sons [are] distracted.”⁸⁸ Ezequiel’s

86. *O Spectador Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro), 10 Feb. 1826.

87. Luís Antônio Giron perceives this ambivalence in Antônio Gonçalves Dias’s 1849 and 1850 carnival crônicas. Giron, “O etnógrafo.”

88. “Continuação do entrudo,” *Nova Luz Brazileira* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 Feb. 1831.



Figure 4. Entrudo's results, 1840. Frederick William Briggs, "Os resultados do entrudo," Museu Imperial, Petrópolis, Coleção Geyer. Reproduced with permission, Museu Imperial/Ibram/MinC/nº 20/2015.

annoyance is perhaps not surprising in light of two other newspapers' assessments that the year's entrudo "distinguished itself" by its "fury" and reportedly led to two or three murders, but his main concern was that the game distracted citizens from serious politics.⁸⁹

That year, one enterprising publisher offered an alternative to entrudo in a pamphlet entitled *O novo limão de entrudo*, which contained wholesome entertainment for spending carnival afternoons without the danger of catching colds or suffering from nausea or injuries and without risk to windows or dishes.⁹⁰ No copy of this publication is known to have survived, but *O novo limão de entrudo*'s purpose is clear from an advertisement that described a discussion among about 20 young men on the Saturday before entrudo. One declared that he wanted to go further than the police and entirely prohibit entrudo. Another responded that this would amount to clamping "irons on liberty"; all should be allowed to celebrate as they pleased and, in time, entrudo would gradually disappear. A third pointed to alcohol as the principal cause of problems during entrudo. To address the medical concerns and to demonstrate his "Brazilian patriotism," a fourth suggested that limões be filled with cure-all home remedies made from

89. *A Aurora Fluminense* (Rio de Janeiro), 18 Feb. 1831. See also *Correio Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro), 19 Feb. 1831. (Hereafter this last newspaper will be cited as CM.)

90. *Obras publicadas, DRJ*, 14 Feb. 1831.

wild herbs; the cure would thus accompany the cause of illnesses. An “old retiree” retorted that turning limão de cheiro “factories” into pharmacies was bad economic policy, for it would ruin real druggists. Finally, a newspaper delivery boy resolved the men’s doubts about entrudo by offering *O novo limão de entrudo*.⁹¹

The November 1831 municipal ordinances that banned entrudo formed part of a larger crackdown on public space by the embattled regency government that had come to power in April.⁹² Some welcomed the crackdown: the relieved author of a letter to the *Correio Mercantil* thanked the authorities for the ban and the effective enforcement, noting that he had seen “true peace” on the streets during 1832’s entrudo.⁹³ Not all agreed. In January, *O Simplicio da Roça* lamented in verse that the upcoming entrudo would have all the charms of Lent thanks to the “unrest” of the previous months. A few days after Ash Wednesday, however, this lighthearted weekly came out in favor of the ban and praised the government for its effective enforcement, “another palm in the trophy of liberty and enlightenment” that demonstrated the “progress of our civilization.” The key, according to this editorial, was the ban on public sale of limões, which deprived “entrudo warriors” of their ammunition.⁹⁴

Vigorous enforcement of the 1831 ordinances continued in 1833. The intendant announced that he was putting more men on the street, and the author of a letter to the *Correio Mercantil* explained that, instead of drunkenness, insults against peaceful citizens in their homes, broken heads and limbs, stabbings, and deaths, this year’s entrudo saw business conducted regularly, with artisans at work in their shops and peaceful citizens looking after their interests.⁹⁵ An ephemeral newspaper or pamphlet, *O limão de cheiro*, while generally supportive of the crackdown on entrudo, criticized the police for merely banning it without providing alternatives. It proposed the establishment of public fairs that would provide entertainment for people of all classes and anticipated that, unless something to replace entrudo was offered, it would be very difficult to eradicate the deeply rooted custom.⁹⁶

I have found few accounts of entrudo celebrations in the mid-1830s, but the assalto on Hunter’s house and Graham Eden Hamond’s terse comment that

91. “*O novo limão de entrudo*,” supplement, *Diario Mercantil ou Novo Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 12 Feb. 1831.

92. Abreu, *O império*, 198–224.

93. Letter from O Amigo da Paz, *CM*, 9 Mar. 1832.

94. “Lundumzinho para o entrudo d’este anno de 1832,” *O Simplicio da Roça* (Rio de Janeiro), 22 Jan. 1832. See also *O Simplicio da Roça* (Rio de Janeiro), 11 Mar. 1832.

95. Intendencia Geral da Policia, *JG*, 16 Feb. 1833; *correspondencia*, *CM*, 21 Feb. 1833.

96. *O limão de cheiro* (Rio de Janeiro), 13 Feb. 1833.

1835's carnival was not celebrated as it was in Naples suggest that the repression may have slackened as order returned to the capital.⁹⁷ An unedifying squabble between a police patrol and a National Guard captain over whether to arrest a man "playing entrudo" in a downtown square in 1836 reveals that entrudo was continuing and suggests that not all agreed with the repression; in this case, the justice of the peace sided with the captain and freed the reveler, although this action earned him a reprimand from the minister of justice.⁹⁸ By that year, fully nine sellers of limões de cheiro felt confident enough to advertise their wares in one issue of the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*. That this issue also carried notices that police patrols would destroy all laranjas encountered on the street indicates the contradictory attitudes toward entrudo.⁹⁹

At the end of the 1830s, criticisms of entrudo returned to the press. In 1839, the *Jornal do Commercio* lamented that the continuation of this "barbarous" custom, "unworthy of a civilized nation, and even harmful to the health and life of citizens," made a mockery of the city council's ban and medical doctors' sage advice. A cronista suggested that the 1831 ordinance be revoked, for it merely accustomed people to disregard the law; rather, the police should pay more attention to crimes committed under the cover of entrudo revelry. Moreover, the city government should ban the use of barrels to pour water onto the street and offer "other entertainment" during these days.¹⁰⁰ Others pointed out that many authorities failed to set good examples. One citizen saw the Holy See's representative, Abbot Fabrini, walking down the street on the Monday of entrudo. Suddenly, a "mighty river" poured from his pockets, and the abbot pulled out the remains of several limões de cheiro. What exactly was the cleric doing with them, wondered the surprised citizen? Was he selling them to provide for his retirement? Surely he was not planning to throw them, for if he threw them at men he would ruin his high reputation; if he threw them at girls, he would only reveal his concupiscence.¹⁰¹

On the eve of 1841's entrudo, the city council resolved to enforce, once again, the decade-old ordinance but also promised "a program of entertainment that will not have the problems of entrudo" for the following year.¹⁰² *O Brasil*

97. Hamond, *Os diários*, 50.

98. Holloway, *Policing*, 148; Souza, *Duque de Caxias*, 239.

99. *DRJ*, 13 Feb. 1836.

100. "Retrospecto hebdomadeiro," *JC*, 16 Feb. 1839; "Carta . . . a seu amigo Y," *O Chronista* (Rio de Janeiro), 19 Feb. 1839.

101. Correspondencia, *O Cidadão* (Rio de Janeiro), 14 Feb. 1839.

102. "O jogo de entrudo," *JC*, 17 Feb. 1841. Ferreira, *Inventando*, 38–39, briefly notes this proposal.

commented that “there was no one who did not laugh” at this promise, while the population “played entrudo as never before.” Even one of the city councillors was seen “furiously throwing his limões de cheiro.”¹⁰³ Within days, satires of the future program appeared in the *Jornal do Commercio*. Its cronista wondered how one could legislate entertainment and remarked that the council sounded like a parent trying to quiet a child: “Be still, very quiet, and tomorrow I’ll buy you a doll more beautiful than you have ever seen.”¹⁰⁴ There is, in fact, no indication that the city council put on any entertainment in 1842, and Luiz Carlos Martins Pena later recalled that the wags had shamed the councillors into abandoning the proposal. The council did, however, authorize its inspectors to issue licenses to respectable parish residents who wished to engage in “any other decent and nonthreatening entertainment.”¹⁰⁵

That year, the police continued their work, and, according to *O Brasil*, roving patrols prevented many blacks from selling limões and arrested those who were provoking disorders.¹⁰⁶ The published 1842 police reports, more detailed than usual, offer some indication of how the police worked. During the four days before entrudo, they arrested 27 slaves (16 women and 11 men) for selling laranjas on the street (an indication that, contrary to Debret’s observation, women did not monopolize this commerce).¹⁰⁷ The 55 people arrested during the three days of entrudo constitute only a fraction of those who fell afoul of the police. The reports include references to people released immediately after paying fines, but the Candelária parish justice of the peace kept the slave Antonio under arrest, even though he had paid the fine after having been caught with a tray of limões. Many first received warnings. A French tailor received three warnings not to play entrudo before he was finally arrested. Hampered by their inability to enter private houses, police patrols could only admonish owners to stop throwing water, limões, or other items out of windows and recommend that charges be laid. There are only two indications of resistance to the police: one man refused to give his name when arrested and, from the apartments above Mutter and Co. (on Violas Street), someone threw a doorknob at a police patrol, injuring a soldier in the arm, when the justice of the

^{103.} “O futuro programma do entrudo,” *O Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 Feb. 1841; “O entrudo e a illustrissima,” *O Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 27 Feb. 1841.

^{104.} “O entrudo” (folhetim), *JC*, 21–22 Feb. 1841.

^{105.} “Camara Municipal,” *DRJ*, 3 Mar. 1842. See also Martins Pena, *Folhetins*, 144 (16 Feb. 1847).

^{106.} “O entrudo,” *O Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 10 Feb. 1842.

^{107.} *DRJ*, 4, 5, 7 Feb. 1842; Debret, *Viagem*, 1:220.

peace tried to fine the building's owner.¹⁰⁸ The prominence of foreign names in these police reports led *O Brasil* to lament that foreigners were some of the most unbridled participants in entrudo.¹⁰⁹ The one traveler who witnessed 1842's entrudo thought it a rather moderate affair; he ignored advice not to go ashore, and, instead of the expected insults, he and his companions were only greeted by an occasional egg-sized waxen ball filled with perfumed water as they made their way to the theater.¹¹⁰

Reflecting on 1842's entrudo, the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* recommended that the municipal government change its policy. Anti-entrudo bylaws merely resulted in flagrant disregard for the law; justices of the peace and bylaw inspectors were drenched, and any who tried to charge violators faced "public ridicule and disrespect." After all, would anyone dare indict an entire family? The few people who took advantage of the city council's offer of licenses to wear masks and other costumes probably did so only to elude the authorities while playing entrudo. Entrudo customs were so deeply ingrained in society, the editors concluded, that it would be better not to legislate against them at all and to confine the police to preventing disorder; in this way, respect for the authorities would be maintained.¹¹¹

It is difficult to trace entrudo's repression for the rest of the 1840s. Year after year, authorities published the bylaws and arranged for street patrols, but arrests for playing entrudo or for selling limões diminished notably as a proportion of all arrests noted in the police reports; arrests for disorderly conduct, resistance to the police, unspecified bylaw violations, and insults to authorities may have been related to entrudo. That most entrudo arrests did not lead to jail time likely explains why Thomas Holloway found no increase in the number of entries into the police jail during February in his analysis of 1850's prison intake.¹¹² In 1844, one newspaper judged that the police had reduced the pernicious effects of this "old barbarian custom," but others held that the ban on limões had the perverse effect of increasing the amount of water that people threw from windows.¹¹³ In 1847, Martins Pena likewise observed that, as authorities closed off the space for street entrudo celebrations, revelers moved

^{108.} *JC* and *DRJ*, 8, 9, 10 Feb. 1842. See also Ferreira, *Inventando*, 33.

^{109.} "O entrudo," *O Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 10 Feb. 1842. See also "Retrospecto hebdomadeiro," *JC*, 16 Feb. 1839; Debret, *Viagem*, 1:221.

^{110.} Brierly, *Diários*, 72.

^{111.} "O entrudo," *DRJ*, 10 Feb. 1842.

^{112.} Holloway, *Policing*, 194–95. That year, entrudo fell on February 10–12.

^{113.} "Entrudo," *O Echo do Rio* (Rio de Janeiro), 21 Feb. 1844; "Carta . . . a seu amigo Y," *O Chronista* (Rio de Janeiro), 19 Feb. 1839.

to the windows and turned the festivities into confrontations with the police, much as we saw in the 1842 police reports. He also doubted that the publication of anti-entrudo ordinances and reinforced police patrols alone would eliminate these popular customs.¹¹⁴

The *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* judged in 1847 that the many carnival balls, first held the year before, had reduced the number of “entrudo players,” but Antônio Gonçalves Dias, who shared the *Diário*’s hope, nevertheless described a generalized entrudo two years later.¹¹⁵ In 1850, another writer lamented ineffective police enforcement, and a *Correio Mercantil* cronista likened 1851’s anti-entrudo efforts to the ineffectual repression of the illegal slave trade (1831–1850).¹¹⁶ To judge by three newspapers, 1853’s entrudo was as rowdy as ever, with “bands of blacks” and Portuguese islanders wetting and dirtying all who came into reach.¹¹⁷

In 1851, José Maria da Silva Paranhos, the future Viscount of Rio Branco, then cronista for the *Jornal do Commercio*, lamented the “inexorable influence of European civilization” and argued that “the artificial rain of entrudo” did no harm, so there was no reason to do away with the old custom in favor of the “insipidity of Italian masquerades.”¹¹⁸ O Carijó, the new anonymous *Correio Mercantil* cronista, retorted that manufacturers and sellers of limões were preparing to present Paranhos with a massive wax balloon inscribed with their thanks for his support. He further suggested that the balloon be sent to London’s Great Exhibition of 1851, where it would certainly win in the category of wax objects and thereby serve as “indisputable evidence of Brazil’s advanced level of civilization.” Those who profited from the sale of masks and costumes, however, were plotting to stop the presentation by outfitting numerous moleques in carnival attire and having them shout in the balloon’s vicinity. This would threaten the “massive fruit’s structural integrity,” for it was necessarily “as perfectly hollow as the heads of entrudistas in action.” Unfortunately, it was not easy to find enough moleques who were not *meias-caras* (slang for illegally imported slaves, whom the police were arresting and “freeing” for service on public works as *africanos livres*, or liberated Africans). Nor would it be easy

^{114.} Martins Pena, *Folhetins*, 143 (16 Feb. 1847).

^{115.} DRJ, 17 Feb. 1847; [Antônio Gonçalves Dias], “Ethnographia: O entrudo no Rio de Janeiro” (folhetim), *CM*, 21 Feb. 1849.

^{116.} Municipe, “Ao Sr. Chefe de Policia” (*communicado*), *JC*, 9 Feb. 1850; O Carijó, “5.^a pacotilha,” *CM*, 9–10 Mar. 1851.

^{117.} *JC*, 9, 10 Feb. 1853. See also *Correio do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro), 9, 10, 11 Feb. 1853; “O Carnaval e os masqués,” *A Imprensa* (Rio de Janeiro), 6 Feb. 1853.

^{118.} Paranhos, *Cartas*, 59 (2 Mar. 1851).

to ship the balloon to London; to uphold Brazil's dignity, it would have to be sent on a government steamer, but none was big enough to hold the giant limão.¹¹⁹ O Carijó's sympathies clearly lay with entrudo's critics, but by the time that readers finished this satire, which skewered Brazil's pretensions to "civilization," the police, those who held illegally imported slaves, the navy, participants in entrudo and makers of limões, his fellow cronista, and those who profited from the sale of carnival costumes, they could be forgiven for losing sight of the original message.

According to many chroniclers, renewed police efforts in 1854 and 1855 finally put an end to entrudo and cleared the way for the first carnival procession by Sumidades Carnavalescas in the latter year.¹²⁰ José de Alencar, himself a member of this society, could then proudly proclaim entrudo's death, a view seconded by many contemporaries.¹²¹ Sumidades presented itself as an explicitly anti-entrudo association; its members toasted "progress, civilization, and the old entrudo's abolition" at their dinner on the last night of carnival.¹²² In its annual report, the board of directors proclaimed that Sumidades had definitively enthroned "European carnival," driving away the bedraggled entrudo.¹²³ The society's decision to parade through city streets constituted an effort on the part of these elite men to claim the streets for themselves and their "civilized" carnival, rather than withdraw into the theater for masked balls.¹²⁴

To be sure, the 51 members of Sumidades who paraded, followed by a "large number of other costumed people," were overly optimistic about their ability to put an end to popular customs. Already in 1857, the *Jornal do Commercio*'s cronista noted that "the syringe and the limão de cheiro" were still protesting the new forms of celebration, and many have noted that 1855 did not mark the end of activities labeled entrudo.¹²⁵ But much had changed. Fenton

¹¹⁹ O Carijó, "5.ª pacotilha," *CM*, 9–10 Mar. 1851.

¹²⁰ Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas*, 29–34; Morales de los Rios Filho, *O Rio*, 374; Barreto Filho and Lima, *História*, 2:195–96, 210. Newspapers concurred that 1854's enforcement was more effective: "O entrudo," *O Republico* (Rio de Janeiro), 6 Mar. 1854; "Visita das priminhas," *Periodico dos Pobres* (Rio de Janeiro), 2 Mar. 1854; "O entrudo," *O Velho Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro), 2 Mar. 1854; *JC*, 28 Feb. 1854; [Carijó e comp.], "162.ª pacotilha," *CM*, 6 Mar. 1854; "Sabbatina" (a pedido), *DRJ*, 6 Mar. 1854.

¹²¹ Alencar, *Ao correr*, 227 (25 Feb. 1855); *CM*, 19, 20 Feb. 1855; "O nosso carnaval," *JC*, 7 Feb. 1856.

¹²² *CM*, 22 Feb. 1855.

¹²³ "Congresso das Sumidades Carnavalescas" (a pedido), *CM*, 3 Apr. 1855.

¹²⁴ Ferreira, *Inventando*, 28, 61–66; Cunha, *Ecos*, 100–105.

¹²⁵ "A semana" (folhetim), *JC*, 1 Mar. 1857. See also Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas*, 319, 136; Flores, "Do entrudo," 159–60; Araújo, *Festas*, 210–11; Cunha, *Ecos*, 53–86.

Aylmer, the only traveler to leave an account of carnival in the late 1850s, described a celebration very different from that which his predecessors had seen only a few years earlier: “I heard wonderful accounts of it in bygone days, but was a good deal disappointed with the reality, the great fun consisting in hitting each other with bonbons and flowers; being able to laugh and joke without an introduction, and flirt as much as you like without fear of being asked what you mean. At night, masquerades keep up the fun; and certainly it was very jolly.”¹²⁶ Jolly it may have been, but it was not what travelers of only a few years earlier had seen.

Conclusion

While midcentury police efforts failed to eradicate entrudo from Rio de Janeiro’s streets, dismissing the anti-entrudo ordinances as laws that were “simply ignored, with no great consequences for anyone,” as one historian does, misses the enforcement that took place.¹²⁷ Certainly a man like Antonio, the slave who not only lost his (or his master’s) investment in limões but also remained under arrest after paying the fine, would not have seen this as inconsequential. The laws were enforced sporadically, unevenly, and inequitably, but in this respect they were just like countless others that remained on the books. They reveal authorities’ concerns, while resistance to them reveals the cultural conflicts of the age.

The failure to eradicate street entrudo in the early 1850s does not mean, however, that nothing had changed; contemporaries were highly conscious that they lived in times of rapid change, particularly among the elite and the middle classes. A tone of nostalgia pervades midcentury cronistas’ writings about entrudo. Many lamented that the overwhelming desire for “novelties” was doing away with the customs of their parents and grandparents. Before long, speculated one, “civilization will oblige us to study our parents’ . . . habits and customs . . . as curiosities from a distant time, whose traditions will only have historical significance.”¹²⁸ Only a few decades later, folklorists would fulfill this prediction.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Aylmer, *Cruise*, 1:62.

¹²⁷ Pereira, *O Carnaval*, 80.

¹²⁸ “A semana” (folhetim), *JC*, 26 Feb. 1854. See also “O entrudo” (folhetim), *Periodico dos Pobres* (Rio de Janeiro), 1 Mar. 1851; “Bailes mascarados—Theatro de S. Pedro—Theatro de S. Francisco” (folhetim), *JC*, 7 Mar. 1848; Abreu, *O império*, 278; Pereira, *O Carnaval*, 58–65, 77.

¹²⁹ Early texts in this genre include Macedo, *As mulheres*, 1:148–54 (1870–1871); Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas*, 135–43 (1895).

The mid-1850s saw important changes in urban culture. The Holy Spirit Festival (Pentecost), considered Rio de Janeiro's most important popular festival in the 1840s and early 1850s, declined rapidly after middecade.¹³⁰ Large-scale street celebrations of Brazil's independence day, September 7, began during these years; they included some elements of carnival and the Holy Spirit Festival.¹³¹ To be sure, these popular civic celebrations soon declined, but the coincidence of these changes did not go unnoticed. In 1857, a *Jornal do Comércio* cronista saw both the new carnival and the new popular independence celebrations as evidence of the populace's orderly nature.¹³² This suggests that scholars who have focused on individual festivals—entrudo/carnival, the Holy Spirit Festival, or civic rituals—need to look more carefully at the connections and parallel developments among them.

A full explanation for the rise of carnival and the marginalization of entrudo after midcentury will include much more than acceptance of the critics' condemnation of a "barbarous" practice and police repression. It will have to address the embrace of idealized cosmopolitan notions of "civilization" among the city's elite and middle classes, those who patronized the masked balls and sponsored the parades. They adopted increasingly bourgeois lifestyles and filled their homes with the accoutrements of European upper-class life.¹³³ As sparsely furnished late colonial residences like the one painted by Earle began to fill with pianos, curtains, photographs, and other material elements of "civilized" life, domestic water play became impossible, both because it contradicted elite values and because it would have destroyed too much valuable property. At the same time, balls offered numerous attractions, not the least of which was the restricted access, which ensured that flirtation took place among relative social equals, while parades allowed members of the elite to flaunt their position.

While carnivals in Europe and North America frequently included (and sometimes still include) throwing games, with the projectiles ranging from excrement to oranges, from streamers to confetti, from grains to eggs filled with fragrant or noisome liquids, water play predominated in early nineteenth-century South American celebrations.¹³⁴ In Brazilian cities from Belém to Rio Grande and in Spanish American cities from Buenos Aires to Lima, authorities

130. Abreu, *O império*, 47–106, 175, 225–32.

131. Kraay, *Days*, 178–204.

132. "A semana" (folhetim), *JC*, 1 Mar. 1857.

133. Alenastro, "Vida."

134. Burke, *Popular Culture*, 183; Viqueira Albán, *Propriety*, 109–10; Harris, *Carnival*, 145; Mitchell, *All*, 17, 36–37, 41–42, 59; Kinser, *Carnival*, 66–67; Caro Baroja, *El carnaval*, 57–60.

campaigned against entrudo and its analogues with as much vigor as their Rio de Janeiro counterparts. Indeed, the accounts of *porteño* and *limeño* pre-Lenten celebrations could have been lifted straight from Brazilian newspapers.¹³⁵ Perhaps this preference for throwing water was simply an adaptation to tropical climes; I can see no attractions in getting wet in February or March in temperate zones. The throwing games' sexual connotations are clear, but what entrudo meant to revelers remains difficult to determine: the thrill of loosened constraints on interaction between men and women, courting, settling scores with rivals, putting pompous foreigners or self-important members of the elite in their place, asserting superiority over hapless slaves and free blacks, a break from the usual work routine, a refreshing and amusing interlude on a hot summer afternoon? Not all these activities transgressed boundaries or challenged hierarchies, but enough did to make entrudo the target of reformers who sought to impose their views on society.

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¹³⁵ Araújo, *Folganças*; Araújo, *Festas*; Rojas Rojas, *Tiempos*; César, *El carnaval*.

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Photographs of a Prayer: The (Neglected) Visual Archive and Latin American Labor History

Kevin Coleman

Abstract Drawing on photographs of the 1954 banana workers' strike in Honduras, this article seeks to demonstrate the potential of the visual archive for recovering the historical agency of the working class. Photos from the archive of a studio photographer named Rafael Platero Paz enable me to rethink the role of United Fruit Company workers in staging an event that brought the Honduran worker into being as a new political subject. The fact that every photograph is its own certificate of a that-was-there can be drawn upon to radically historicize moments when the shutter opened to capture a particular image. After attending to the ways that the striking workers self-consciously and photographically asserted themselves—as employees, citizens, and devout Catholics—I outline a methodological framework for historians of Latin America who wish to engage with photographs, a source material of unique evidentiary and poetic force.

Sometime in May 1954, Fr. Joseph D. Wade, a Jesuit priest from the United States who served in El Progreso, Honduras, addressed the striking banana workers who had gathered in the Ramón Rosa Plaza, a small urban park with a giant German-made clock atop an elevated gazebo. His clerical garb, age, nationality, and assumed learnedness conveyed authority. The rotunda from which he spoke was the architectural focal point of the offices of the municipal government on one side of the plaza and the stores of various Palestinian merchants that lined its other sides. As Fr. Wade addressed the workers, a local photographer named Rafael Platero Paz took a picture of him (figure 1).

As a document, this picture is evidence of Fr. Wade's presence during the strike. His memoirs supplement this image, retrospectively describing his experience of the 69 days when the banana workers withheld their labor. Platero

I am grateful to Aída López de Castillo, whose dedication to caring for her father's photographs made this project possible. In preparing this article, I benefited from the insights of Daniel James, Sebastián Carassai, Jens Andermann, William Fysh, Elspeth Brown, Jeffrey L. Gould, David Díaz Arias, Darío A. Euraque, Marvin Barahona, Daniel E. Bender, Mairi Cowan, Justin Wolfe, Jane Lyle, and Hema Ganapathy, as well as the editors of *HAHR*, the three peer reviewers, and Sean Mannion.

Paz's social documentary photograph also hints at the theatrical and public nature of the strike. This priest was not in his church, addressing parishioners from the altar. He was in the civic space of the Ramón Rosa Plaza.

Part of the event-character of the strike was that it was staged as a spectacle, as a series of acts that were meant to be seen locally, nationally, and internationally. The 1954 strike was a declaration of independence performed by and for the workers. The force of that declaration was multiplied when a dispersed community of spectators could see the plight of these people and hear their demands; likewise, it was blunted by lack of exposure, by the fact that they toiled anonymously, by the fact that US consumers of bananas had no idea who produced the fresh fruit that they ate without so much as a second thought. Hence the strike was also staged for the camera, which duplicated the workers' acts of collective self-rule and made their demands visible to others beyond the immediate scene.

Photographs of the 1954 strike called forth a new reality. They did so by denouncing an unjust situation and by enacting and demanding, in the photographic present and for the future, an alternative set of economic and social relations. I will argue that it is "the perhaps," the yet-to-come, that can be seen in the images that Platero Paz made of workers during the strike against the Boston-based company. But I will also suggest that these photographs reveal something more than the yet-to-come. These strike photos emphatically announce the "here already" of new political subjects creating a vantage point on their own situation and a differently arranged space in which to live and work together. Platero Paz's photographs of the 1954 strike are thus image objects that have encoded, in addition to the that-has-been, two additional temporalities: the here already and the yet-to-come. Both of these effect a break, rejecting the order of the past in which workers simply accepted their lot as the time of yesterday, the time that fruit company managers sought to bring back. Thus the uncertainty about whether or not the workers would be able to maintain their heterotopic space of collective self-governance also permeates these photographs, especially a photo of the workers praying reverently at an outdoor Mass in the Ramón Rosa Plaza.¹

1. For the purposes of this article, I am setting aside the question of circulation to focus on the photograph as a unique kind of historical document. I analyze photojournalistic images of the 1954 strike, including those printed in *Life* and *Bohemia* magazines, in Coleman, *Camera*, chap. 8.



Figure 1. Courtesy of the Rafael Platero Paz Archive.

The Visual Archive and Latin American Labor History

Despite the fact that the study of the visual has exploded in recent years, it has been late in arriving in Latin American and Caribbean history per se. Over the past two decades, scholars in academic departments of literature, anthropology, and art history have written the most important works in this field,

contributing the analytic of “visual economies,” rethinking the performance of state power as a mode of seeing, tracking down the flow of tropicalizing images, and demonstrating how photography was made to err by Brazilian and Mexican modernists.² Back in 2004, the *Hispanic American Historical Review* published a special issue with three articles by historians who were sensitive to the specificities of visual culture.³ But what looked like a promising start has yet to be built upon. Against the scarcity of historically minded studies of photography in Latin America, I can think of only one notable exception, and that is John Mraz’s rigorous genealogy of the images and image-makers of the Mexican Revolution.⁴ In my view, if the study of photography and photographs is to find a place in Latin American history, then it will need to grapple with the methods and insights that the broader field of visual studies has produced over the past 30 years.

Since the 1820s and the advent of what was deemed a means for writing with light, the seemingly direct and uncoded nature of photographic representation has perplexed viewers, who once marveled at the exactness of machine-made images. Unlike the written word or painting, the argument goes, photographs are indexical—they point to an object at which a camera was pointed at a given instant.⁵ In other words, while the meaning or truth of a photo is always open and can never be fixed once and for all, the fact that each photograph testifies to a particular moment in the past is indisputable.⁶ And it is the temporal structure of photographs—they are always of somebody’s present—that invites us to enter into the past in new ways. Photographs beckon the beholder to identify what has been pictured and to link it with other people, places, objects, and events. Each of us, as we look at our childhood photos in

2. These contributions were made by Poole, *Vision*; Andermann, *Optic*; Thompson, *Eye*; Gabara, *Errant Modernism*.

3. Coronil, “Can the Subaltern See?”; James and Lobato, “Family Photos”; Poole, “Image”; and Grandin, “Can the Subaltern.” Robert M. Levine was the first historian to systematically treat photographs from Latin America as documents in their own right: Levine, *Images*.

4. Mraz, *Photographing*.

5. The debate goes back to Louis Daguerre and William Henry Fox Talbot; the foundational contemporary texts are Barthes, “Rhetoric”; Barthes, *Camera Lucida*. Margaret Olin challenges prevailing interpretations of Barthes’s notion of indexicality and instead suggests that “we endow [photographs] with attributes we need them to have.” She argues that “the most significant indexical power of the photograph may consequently lie . . . in the relation between the photograph and its beholder, or user, in what I would like to call a ‘performative index,’ or an ‘index of identification.’” See Olin, “Touching Photographs,” 85.

6. Baer, *Spectral Evidence*, 7.

search of who we once were, does this kind of identificatory work. Lovers, parents, and the police use images in the same way.

Hence this medium that seems to have a privileged relation to reality also has egalitarian potential. Photographs can be readily interpreted, honored, or defaced. Beyond the immediate scene in which a photo is produced, people in other places and times can reengage that image and the moment to which it testifies. Furthermore, as the art and science of photography expanded with nineteenth-century imperialism, this cheap and increasingly simple technology soon put self-representation within nearly everyone's reach. Photography, to be sure, is not neutral. In all places, workers have been subjected to a disciplinary gaze that seeks to speed them up or slow them down, and to steer what they say and do. Yet photography has also allowed workers to represent themselves and to call on others to join them in solidarity. In many cases, people who otherwise left exceedingly few records of their lives still show up in photographs as authors of their own images, standing or sitting as they wished to be seen by others.

With an immediacy that can lull us into forgetting the very constructedness of the image, photos disclose ways in which ordinary people conducted themselves, if only for a split second, in their own present. Hence the photograph must be critically interpreted as part of a larger visual field that conditions what can be seen, said, and done in any given historical conjuncture. The unique temporality of photographic representation invites us to radically historicize, suspending our knowledge of what happened after the event of making a picture and entering into the moment that it documents. Platero Paz's photos of the 1954 strike, for instance, show how workers dramatically reworked old repertoires and invented new ones, setting in firm relief the mechanisms and spaces of neocolonial corporate rule through their decolonial acts of self-poiesis.

As an artisan and entrepreneur, Rafael Platero Paz worked in El Progreso from 1926 to 1983, photographically documenting everything from children receiving their first communion to local political rallies. With his pictures, he enabled a racially and ethnically diverse labor force, as well as women, subsistence farmers, and children, to inscribe themselves as honorable, respectable participants in the construction of a new national imaginary. When he died, Platero Paz left everything—including ten large cardboard boxes, each containing prints and several thousand negatives, as well as three of his old cameras, some lenses, receipts, and other equipment—to his daughter, Profesora Aída López de Castillo. Sitting on her back porch, I digitized nearly 2,000 negatives and a couple hundred prints as Profesora Aída went through the scanned images to find people that she recognized. This archive contains traces of ephemeral practices and subaltern acts of self-making that are simply not found in written documents or oral history interviews.

Drawing on Platero Paz's photographs of the 1954 banana workers' strike in Honduras, I would like to demonstrate the potential that the visual archive holds for recovering the historical agency of the working class.⁷ These photos enable me to rethink the role of fruit company workers in staging an event that quite literally brought the Honduran worker into being as a new political subject. The fact that every photograph is its own certificate of a *that-was-there* can be drawn upon to radically historicize moments when the shutter opened to capture a particular image on light-sensitive material. After attending to the ways that the striking workers self-consciously and photographically asserted themselves, as employees and as citizens, I will outline a methodological framework for historians of Latin America who wish to engage with photographs, a source material of unique evidentiary and poetic force.

"A New Spirit Began to Appear among the Men"

From distinct ideological positions, the gamut of sources—official, testimonial, and photographic—bears witness to a new way of thinking that the banana workers were creating. Some feared it. Others embraced it. Among the former, Fr. Wade reflects: "About six months before the strike, a new spirit began to appear among the men. They were meeting in small groups, planning secretly, complaining, conceiving new ideas of better conditions of work, of hours, of wages, prices of clothes and food."⁸ Among the latter, labor leader Julio César Rivera recalls that workers were already predisposed to fight for their rights before leftist organizers arrived in the banana camps: "When we went to the banana plantations to talk with the workers, there was already a fighting spirit within the laborer and a desire to organize."⁹ Newspapers reported that Central America was "convulsing."¹⁰ The United Fruit Company and the US government went on red alert. Photographers grabbed their cameras and ran to the scenes of the strike.

Each of these sources also reports on the workers' encampments in front of United Fruit's offices in the American Zone, where the company's employees lived, and at the Ramón Rosa Plaza, in front of the town hall. Fr. Wade recalls the massive gatherings:

7. For one of the earliest attempts to critically engage photos to write working-class history, see Sekula, *Photography*.

8. Joseph D. Wade, SJ, "The Light of the Dawn Becomes the Light of Day: The History of the Catholic Church in Honduras from 1854 through 1965" (unpublished manuscript), El Progreso, 1982, Archives of the Society of Jesus, El Progreso, 2:288.

9. Testimony of Julio César Rivera, in Barahona, *El silencio*, 137; for a fuller account of the 1954 strike, see Argueta, *La gran huelga*.

10. "Centro América convulsa," *El Día* (Tegucigalpa), 15 May 1954, p. 3.

The strike continued during all the month of May. Every day the leaders ordered a mass meeting at the raised platform which was in front of the main office of the Company, in the south part of town, and near the railroad bridge across the Río Pelo. There would gather some eight or nine thousand men and women, not counting hundreds of children scattered all about. The management of the strike had set up a public address system run by an electric motor placed not far away. These sessions would go on from about nine thirty to noon time, always giving instructions to the people, and explaining the reason for the strike, and voicing the great injustices the people were suffering at the hands of the Company.¹¹

While Fr. Wade had long enjoyed addressing his congregations from the altar, here he listened to a new popular and secular authority. He had to ask others "to allow me to speak by the P.A. system to the people."¹² In this small space outside the local headquarters of a transnational corporation, the workers had become sovereign, if only for a moment.

The workers maintained their minipolity, their community under construction, with some of the same tools that the company and the state used to maintain their fiefdoms, including a bit of surveillance and some strategic public relations. Fr. Wade's experience of the shift in local relations of authority is indicative of the development of a new and, however brief, popular sovereignty. Antonio Handal, a Palestinian Christian merchant whose store looked out onto the Ramón Rosa Plaza, warned our priest, who was known locally as "Padre José":

"It is said that they have put you at the top of the list of men who must be eliminated when they take the power of the government into their hands. You are a marked man." Then I went out into the Plaza, moving about, speaking to those who came near me. After a few moments, a man came up to me and said in a whisper, "Father, a man is following you with a camera trying to get a face view and picture of you. Don't look directly in his direction." I looked around and saw the camera, but continued, not turning towards him. After maybe half an hour, I suddenly found myself surrounded by about fifty people, with a few shouting at me, accusing me of being in favor of the Company, and against the rights of the workman.¹³

11. Wade, "Light," 2:292.

12. Ibid., 2:293.

13. Ibid.

Intimated in this story is the idea that the workers wanted a frontal picture of Fr. Wade to identify and repress him. This wariness, whether rooted in actual events or the product of an overactive memory, indexes the disjunction between the priest and his flock, between his unchanged mode of being and the workers' new subjectivity, between the social relations that obtained before the strike and those that were being produced as the workers inserted themselves into history as active subjects.

Testimony, Photographs, and Place

On May Day 1954, the procession of workers arrived in the American Zone at around 11:30 a.m. Those whose shift had just ended immediately joined the demonstration. As the mass of men proceeded down the Primera Avenida toward the cemetery and then doubled back toward the Ramón Rosa Plaza, women and children closed the doors to their houses to join the procession. According to Agapito Robleda, one of the United Fruit Company's construction workers, the group of laborers and their families returned from the American Zone to the plaza at around 2 p.m. with 8,000 people.¹⁴ The mood was festive, and from the open pavilion in the center of the plaza, various speakers addressed the group. From the elevated platform, Miguel Toro read the workers' declaration of a general strike.¹⁵ At this point, the declaration was more like a secular prayer than a social fact. No one knew whether a couple of relatively small strikes by longshoremen and mechanics in Puerto Cortés and engineering and construction workers in El Progreso would develop into a strike by workers in all industries.

Meanwhile, that same day the US government's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) launched *La voz de liberación*, Operation SHERWOOD, a propagandistic radio program meant to disorient Guatemalans and to aid the United States in overthrowing President Jacobo Árbenz. The Honduran Left denounced the US effort to destabilize Guatemala as a threat to the country's sovereignty and the freedom of its people.¹⁶ On May 2, the strikers in El Progreso sent emissaries out into the surrounding plantations to propose that field hands join in withholding their labor. That same day, US and Honduran officials alleged that a military airplane from Guatemala landed without permission in Puerto Cortés, which, according to them, suggested that the banana

14. Robleda Castro, *La verdad*, 80; Wade, "Light," 2:291.

15. Robleda Castro, *La verdad*, 81.

16. "Pronunciamiento del PDRH en favor de 'la Soberanía' y 'las Libertades,'" *El Día* (Tegucigalpa), 29 Apr. 1954.

workers' strike was really orchestrated from Guatemala City. The Árbenz government responded that it had sent the plane to investigate the possibility of an invasion by Carlos Castillo Armas, the Guatemalan military officer who was the public face of the CIA's clandestine operation to end democratic governance in Guatemala.¹⁷

In each of the photographs of the 1954 strike, the workers demonstrate their awareness that they are the subjects of this historic event, that they have seized a degree of power, and that it is they who are being photographically documented, acting as if the strike itself was intended as much for the management of the United Fruit Company as it was for the distant spectators that the camera implied. In the photograph of the strikers demonstrating in the streets of El Progreso (figure 2), the viewer sees that the workers demonstrate significant control over the message that they are sending. They know they are making history, and they acknowledge the role of the camera in documenting their moment as active political subjects.

Three components of this photo overdetermine the resulting message. First, the workers were communicating, through their sheer mass, the strength of a group agent. Second, with text etched on signs that they carried above the crowd, the workers were declaring solidarity with one another and their joint purpose. Finally, the workers had drawn images of themselves as the typical *campeño*—with rolled-up sleeves, strong arms, and a sombrero—cutting an arm off of an octopus, an international icon of imperialism. Thus, while Platero Paz created this picture, the workers themselves left nothing to chance and worked to ensure that others knew what they were fighting for. To the extent they could, these *campeños* made clear and consistent representations of their purposes.

As the workers watch themselves being photographed as a collective subject, they are clearly aware of their own power in reclaiming this public space, of converting it in this moment from a space for commerce to one for civic debate. They cannot yet know that massive floods are coming, that 40 percent of them will be fired just three months later, that the company will increasingly rely on chemicals and less on unskilled workers, and, finally, that the company will begin to pull back from the risks of production, shifting those risks onto locals while continuing to reap enormous profits from the sale of the fruit, literally, of their labor. In the moment when they looked into the lens of the camera and the photographer clicked the button, the “posing” subjects and the photographer

17. Whiting Willauer, “Guatemalan Plane Landed Puerto Cortes,” 10 May 1954, Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Honduras: Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs, 1950–1954; Argueta, *La gran huelga*, 66–67.



Figure 2. Courtesy of the Rafael Platero Paz Archive.

must have had several potential spectators in mind: fellow workers, neighbors and friends in El Progreso, the newspaper reader, the company and its management, and, perhaps, posterity.

This last issue, of the photograph as a document for future generations, raises questions about the historian's interpretive approach to visual material. Outside the photographic event, the spectator can imagine what it would be like to be a subject of this particular image. Such a viewer can attempt to imaginatively transpose herself into that photographed subject's horizon. This reflective act does not cancel out the viewer's own horizon (I'm still here in the comfort of my North American home looking at this decades-old picture). And in transposing herself into the horizon of the photographed striker, the viewer cannot collapse the horizon of the other. The two horizons—that of the spectator and that of the photographed subject—coexist in tension with one another. But it is precisely this aspect of viewing a photograph that can upset present-mindedness.

Photographs of a particular event can enable the historicizing of that event. In looking at a photographic image, the spectator is invited into what Alan Trachtenberg referred to as the "narrative time" of the photographer and her subjects.¹⁸ The retrospective uses of the image are brought to it but do not necessarily inhere in it. Inherent in the image is only the record of an event, a

18. Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 54–55.

moment when the shutter opened to let the light that was reflected off an object be captured on film. From this physical process, photographs get their denotative force and testimonial authority. That testimonial authority is what draws us into old photos. This is the new kind of consciousness that the photograph provokes; it was what Roland Barthes called an awareness of having-been-there. The photograph, in a word, lends itself to historicism.

In this photograph of the mass of striking workers, the content of the placards refers concretely to the moment that these working people were bringing about and the new political space that they were constructing. A giant poster carried through the streets of El Progreso depicts a life-sized campeño. Shirtless and with sturdy legs firmly supporting him, he has just swung an ax down into a writhing octopus. The caption reads, "THESTRIKE [sic], GIVING IT GOOD to the OCTOPUS of the Tela RRCo." Thus when this sign was created, the strike had already begun. Furthermore, the sign refers not to the transnational enterprise, but to its local subsidiary, the Tela Railroad Company. This degree of specificity at a time when workers in different regions of the north coast were protesting United Fruit's other local subsidiary, the Truxillo Railroad Company, and its main competitor, the Standard Fruit Company, indicates that workers in El Progreso made the octopus sign themselves. The other posters are also replete with local references and orthographic innocence—"Long live the Cectional [sic] syndicalist committee of the electrical department, in solidareity [sic] with the other departments, Honduras live free." "Long live the Union Committee of the Workshop for Tractors and motorcars, Union, Liberty, Justice, Labor." "Long live the Department of Agriculture." "Syndicalist Committee of the Engineering Department." Such local color was not fabricated from afar but produced on the ground in El Progreso. Thus the surface meanings of photos are the meanings of real surfaces and actual moments, giving viewers a sense for the odd but meaningful specificities of particular places and times as living people—workers, merchants, managers, priests, and photographers—inscribed their wills upon those surfaces and in those moments.

Comportamiento

"All day instructions were given to workers through the loudspeakers: on their conduct [*comportamiento*], on the necessity of organizing, and that they register themselves as members of a future union," recalls Julio César Rivera.¹⁹ In his

19. Testimony of Rivera, in Barahona, *El silencio*, 179.



Figure 3. Courtesy of the Rafael Platero Paz Archive.

taken for granted in their everyday lives. Through the strike, they realized that they could write new codes for how to govern themselves. The strike enabled them to practice living according to their own rules, which they did partly through a sort of self-help guide in which the Comité Central de Huelga issued directives about behavior: do not drink, line up at the collective kitchens, participate in the worker-run field hospitals and police forces, and divvy up the tasks among different committees. They were thus being encouraged to realize themselves and their goals immediately in their own conduct, in their own miniature political community.

The strike leaders understood their role as agents who could deliberately work to dehabituate the laboring masses and to rehabituate them to self-respect. Perhaps this was the most significant threat to the company and the Honduran state, for even as both continued to report that the strike was completely nonviolent and that the workers were conducting themselves with

testimony, Rivera confirms what is abundantly clear from the photographs: the workers and the strike leaders were aware of their own historicity. They knew that they were risking their lives and livelihoods in withholding their labor from the company. But they did so with particular goals in mind—the rights to join a labor union, to be fairly compensated for services rendered, and to be treated as dignified human beings. Yet the strikers' attention to their own *comportamiento* was perhaps their greatest political demand. They made the demand by performing it. Through the strike, the workers became aware of the mutability of their own behavior. That is, the strike allowed them to denaturalize the social and cultural codes that they had

notable self-discipline, they continually sought to discredit the movement. The fact that the workers, and the representatives from among their ranks, recognized that they could reprogram themselves posed a radical challenge to the established order. The strike movement had already changed the behavior of tens of thousands of laborers and was enabling new subjectivities. This was self-help with the potential to cultivate a new collective self.²⁰

The fact that the strike leader is set against the backdrop of the Honduran flag indicates that the workers put forward their demands and made their claims to dignity as Hondurans (figure 3). The content of this self-presentation bespeaks the possibility of a new citizen and of a future Honduras that might respond to demands from below. The workers are enacting the phrase “we the people.” Capturing the political as a project under construction, the photograph helps to habituate workers into who they might become, into what they might make of themselves, as workers and as people newly awakened to their own potential.

Note that as the speaker addresses the mass of workers, his colleague watches the photographer. The gaze of this worker demonstrates two important facts. First, he is aware that he is being photographed, and he does not feign to be caught in a candid moment. Second, he communicates to the photographer that he too is being watched. He directly addresses the photographer and the spectator with this visual *énoncé*: “I am watching you.” This “I” stands with rolled-up shirtsleeves in front of his country’s flag, defying his employer and demanding respect. He is clearly aware of his presence before spectators. In looking directly into the camera, he notifies potential viewers that they are also present before him. Viewers of this image cannot look on with detachment, as if they were omniscient beings observing others unbeknownst to them. In the 1954 strike, workers demonstrated that while they knew that they were being subjected to company and government surveillance, they would also monitor their new and fragile space of social autonomy.

Why did this worker look into the camera as Rafael Platero Paz was taking the picture? Quite apart from the strike as a mass spectacle, this was a momentous occasion. He stood to lose his job if they failed. There were hundreds, perhaps thousands, of his coworkers gathered to hear from members of the strike committee. The police and soldiers could turn against the unarmed workers at any moment. As this worker watches Platero Paz, he is allowing the strike to be documented. It is as if the speaker addressing the workers is unaware of the camera and as if viewers of the image could silently witness these events as observers but not participants. But the worker who looks into the camera

20. On dehabituation, see Beasley-Murray, *Posthegemony*, 211.

reminds viewers, and especially the photographer himself, that they are participant observers and that they too have some role in determining how these events unfold. In this way, this worker's direct gaze into the camera has multiple effects. He asserts his own dignity. He seeks to interpellate spectators into this historic project. With the power of his gaze, he converts Platero Paz (and the viewers of the photographer's images) into subjects-for-him. And short of these effects, he firmly and nonviolently warns reactionaries that he too is watching. He is a brave man, and he does not reject the camera and the power that it implies.

In photographs like this one, Platero Paz captured the knot of sovereignty at the heart of El Progreso. His photos document exercises in individual and collective self-forging in a neocolonial space, reflecting how people practiced becoming independent in the banana republic. When Platero Paz took these pictures, the outcome of this leap into the unknown against known power structures was still highly uncertain. When the camera shutter opened, the workers were still in the moment of decision. They knew what they were trying to change—the hunger, the misery of being disrespected by their employer—they knew what they wanted, and they were embodying it—as organized men and women working together in common cause. What they could not know was how the strike would turn out.

Thus these are photographs of the perhaps, the maybe-it-will-turn-out. They are pictures of self-governance. These workers are more materially poor than ever before. Yet they have become spiritually rich in their moment of choice and in their ongoing commitment to reaffirm their decision to strike for better treatment. As this image of a worker looking directly into the lens of the camera reminds us, the workers recognized that photography was not a passive, objective apparatus of documentation; it was, instead, integral to setting up this new space in which the workers practiced a different mode of being, one that responded to their needs and their will.

Collective Kitchens and Orderly Lines

By May 3, United Fruit's entire Tela Division was on strike. The workers had paralyzed the movement of trains and were marching on the railroad tracks to El Progreso from the plantations.²¹ Women began to throw up collective kitchens to feed the thousands of striking workers who had converged upon El

²¹ "Los huelgistas están aumentando su número en la División de Tela," *La Época* (Tegucigalpa), 7 May 1954, cited in Argueta, *La gran huelga*, 67.



Figure 4. Courtesy of the Rafael Platero Paz Archive.

Progreso. Three times a day, the workers queued up for food. As Agapito Robleda recalls, “The ‘Negra’ Mélida López stood out in this activity and commanded a squad of women to ensure order and discipline in the kitchen.”²²

Platero Paz’s photograph of an outdoor collective kitchen captures another way that women participated in the strike movement (figure 4). Two women face the camera, grinding *masa* for the tortillas. Other women stand near black cast-iron cauldrons, smoke rising from beneath them. Closest to the photographer, a humble middle-aged woman prays with great devotion.

The orderly lines of workers tell two stories that recur in all the photos of the 1954 strike (figure 5). First, they reflect the self-policing that workers engaged in throughout the strike. Second, they reflect the community rules that labor enacted to begin immediately bringing about the social relations that they were demanding. The immanence of this new political order posed a powerful challenge to the fruit companies’ ideological claims that it was they who were bringing progress and order to the unproductive spaces of the Honduran north coast. Likewise, the Honduran political class had long assumed that it was responsible for disciplining what it regarded as the notoriously rowdy, rebellious, and uncultured hordes. But for 69 days, an ethnically and socially diverse group of more than 25,000 workers maintained strict order while demanding

²². Robleda Castro, *La verdad*, 82.

Figure 5. Courtesy of the
Rafael Platero Paz Archive.



that their dignity and rights be respected. Aside from the fact that they withheld their labor, the workers did so without infringing upon the parallel rights of others. That spirit of self-government was embodied in the lines that workers formed to receive their daily meals from the collective kitchens.

Platero Paz took several pictures of these queues of striking workers. The distinct line of people is a theme that recurs in many of his photos of the strike, from those of the masses who meticulously stayed within the boundaries of the Ramón Rosa Plaza, leaving the street completely unobstructed, to those of workers assembled on the railroad tracks in front of United Fruit's offices in the American Zone. Julio César Rivera comments on the community kitchens of El Progreso and the orderly lines that workers formed: "The strike was supported by almost all the people [*pueblo*]. A great number of families, peasants, in the area of El Progreso gave almost everything they had so that the strike would not fail. It was common to see workers lined up at the homes in El Progreso to get something to eat. . . . In any street, wherever you went, you could see the workers waiting for their food."²³ To form a line is to engage in a social practice with deep institutional roots. This form of conduct is learned in schools, on the job, in the military, and at Mass, in the queue to receive Holy Communion. As workers lined up to get a meal from a community kitchen, they were citing a kind of modern

²³. Testimony of Rivera, in Barahona, *El silencio*, 164.

institutional order. The fact that workers formed lines was yet another way that they participated in a modernizing project on the north coast of Honduras.

Beyond the historical facts that it documents, the very composition of Platero Paz's photograph of the workers lined up waiting for a meal creates an image of solidarity. Those closest to the camera's vantage point are singularized, rendered knowable by their faces. As I see the Other, who is "there," right in front of me, I am challenged by his very presence to think about where I am in relation to him. This photograph positions the viewer directly at eye level and in close proximity to a few striking workers, enabling the distance between the beholder and the beheld to be overcome. As the line continues, the distance between the viewer and the workers increases. The men I see up close are individuals, while those who are farther away appear as a collective. Platero Paz's visual eloquence thus captured both the fundamental ethical question that underlies our encounters with others and the fact that solidarity is created by individuals, each of whom decides to make a difference for a common goal. Before the strike, their United Fruit Company overseers had lined these workers up, and they had also been lined up at church and at school. But now they lined themselves up. In doing so, they exposed, while also inverting, the previously reigning order. From an order that had positioned them as objects that could be acted upon, as people who worked and even thought using a script that was not their own, they moved to create a different social order, one that began by instituting local sovereignty and soon expanded beyond El Progreso in an assertion of national sovereignty that the United Fruit Company and the US government found themselves obligated to recognize.

In lining themselves up, the workers were becoming active human subjects, people who were writing their own rules for interacting with each other. Platero Paz captured this individual and collective act of practicing self-governance, creating the possibility that spectators in other places might someday look into the faces of these workers, consider their countenances of stoic resolve, and wonder whether they too might break time into a before and after the event of their decision, writing new rules for themselves and their community and enacting a new way of being workers and being citizens.

"La milagrosa Virgen de Suyapa está ■n huelga"

Surrounded by a crowd of newly sovereign subjects in the Ramón Rosa Plaza, Fr. Wade feared for his life. Somebody wielded a camera and maneuvered to get a frontal image of the priest. The resulting photo could be used to identify him. It could be shown to workers and others. They were spectators. He was the

unwilling object of their gaze. His authority was being displaced. They had authorized themselves to look at him in new ways.

Fr. Wade's account of being an unwilling subject in a photographic encounter highlights the political logic that motivated the workers. The striking workers had drawn an internal frontier between themselves (as a laboring class and as Hondurans) and the United Fruit Company and its allies. In the 1954 strike, field and factory workers successfully aligned themselves with key sectors of the middle class against a common enemy. This is the logic of populism. The "empty signifiers," to invoke Ernesto Laclau, that linked the demands of workers were the idea of "the ordinary Honduran," the dignity of the *obrero*, and the inherent but long-denied worth of "Juan Pueblo."²⁴ In light of the strike, it is easy to see that in his presidential campaign of 1954, Ramón Villeda Morales was not so much the author of a populist discourse as the beneficiary of one that had already burst forth from below. Fr. Wade's account also highlights how the workers drew a frontier between themselves and the official position of the Catholic Church in Honduras, without giving up their deeply felt religiosity.

Collective kitchens and community policing were just two of the ways in which the striking workers pursued a common agenda and asserted a degree of control over how they were represented. In establishing their own working groups, police units, and health clinics, the banana workers temporarily enacted a more egalitarian political community. The striking workers in El Progreso banned the consumption of alcohol, enforcing a standard of public order that was far more severe than the one that typically reigned in the town. They were sober and in control of themselves. In their practices of self-care, in their clear demands, in their modes of organization, and in their steady, intent looks into the camera, the striking workers demonstrated themselves to be anything but a violent and unruly mob.

But that is not what Fr. Wade saw. He shuddered: "They were not sincere friends discussing this with me, wild, and violent, with what I could not interpret other than hatred. Not a single one of them in the group near me was a man whom I had ever seen before on any trip to the Camps. They were all strangers."²⁵

When he was in the Ramón Rosa Plaza, surrounded by dozens of workers, Fr. Wade felt that he was among strangers. Here again the strike produced a radical antagonism—between the company and its workers—that was

²⁴ Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 71.

²⁵ Wade, "Light," 2:293.

simultaneously a new condition of visibility. Before the strike, it was difficult to determine who the friend and enemy were. How could one know? What if that person really was a friend? But during the strike, friends and enemies suddenly became identifiable. Not only could a worker now identify the other, even if his other was his own parish priest, he could also identify himself and where he stood in relation to the other. But this heightened visibility brought with it heightened vulnerability. The company could now see exactly who had struck and who the troublemakers were. Once the company regained control of the situation, it would decide who its friends and enemies were.

But with Fr. Wade still in the crowd, pursued by a camera-wielding worker, the laboring classes performed their own sovereignty: "Fear grabbed me, as they were growing louder and more excited. Suddenly the little monarch, dived into the center of them, and spoke with intense and absolute authority, and shouted 'Leave this man alone, if you do anything to him now, it will hurt our movement.' Then he turned to me, and ordered me out of the circle. I was shaken, and left them, and the Plaza also. I realized that I was marked for elimination."²⁶ In Fr. Wade's account, the local leader was a "little monarch." The workers had successfully, even if temporarily, instituted a new law.

But the fact that the strikers distrusted their priests and perceived them to be allies of the United Fruit Company does not mean that the workers were atheists or even agnostic. Instead, it highlights a gulf between the aspirations and popular religious practices of the laborers and the quite accurately perceived sympathies of their clergymen. Fr. Wade himself reports on the fervent religiosity of the striking workers. After two of their representatives returned from negotiations in Tegucigalpa, "the first thing they [the workers waiting in El Progreso] did was all go to the Church of Mercedes and light a few candles and Thank God for their safe return."²⁷

Beyond the demands that workers were making—for the right to join labor unions, higher wages, and better treatment from their bosses—they were also enacting a new social and juridical order. Again, one of the foundations of that new order was the establishment of a worker-directed disciplinary apparatus. Fr. John Murphy, SJ, commented on the strikers' local police brigade:

The leaders had the town blockaded. Every road going out of town had a few men with rifles forbidding everyone to leave. None could enter either. . . . I was called to visit a dying man in Santa Rita and I got in my jeep and went to Santa Rita road. At the point leaving town I was

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 2:294.

stopped and asked why I wanted to leave town. I said for a sick call. They said, "No." So I had to return.²⁸

According to this unsympathetic observer, the workers physically controlled the space, and they did so, in part, with the threat of violence. As the official Catholic Church aligned itself with the United Fruit Company and the United States in continuing to deny workers their basic rights, the workers also ended up challenging the tradition of deferring to clerical authority. By the same token, if Fr. Murphy's account is true, then it suggests that even as the workers went about founding a new order of equality, they did so by adopting a means of separating and disciplining that was integral to the old order of the state and the corporation.

The skepticism with which the striking workers regarded their priests from the United States is further revealed by the fact that Fr. Murphy was blamed for bringing in the Honduran military. He recounts: "I was accused of sending a message so that the army would send soldiers to free the town from the communists, but I had nothing to do with it." Nevertheless, the soldiers came. As Fr. Murphy reported, their effect on the strike movement was immediate:

After this plane came four more, five in all parked with soldiers in full battle gear. About three hundred men with rifles and bayonets, hand grenades, pistols, tear gas canisters, and submachine guns and gas masks, were in town. They immediately formed into a front of twenty men in line, one after the other, and marched into town. . . . With this sudden show of military force, like ghosts from a distant planet, the people in awe and fear gathered before the platform near the Company offices, maybe ten thousand of them. The Army did not waste time. They formed their front about fifteen abreast, and marched toward the center of town. . . . When the Captain at their front got within speaking distance by using his "bull-horn" he shouted "all disperse and leave this area. I will come toward you walking, but after a certain distance I will give the order of double time." Their rifles worn their bayonets, glistening in the sun, and the men with full battle gear. . . . The people scrambled to escape, and to run away, down the street, toward the river. . . . In a few hours half of the men had returned to their Camps, happy to get out of Progreso.²⁹

28. Murphy, quoted in *ibid.*

29. Murphy, quoted in *ibid.*, 2:296–97.

At the behest of the United Fruit Company, the government quickly reestablished control over the town of El Progreso.

Upon arriving, the soldiers' first order of business was to force the workers to leave the American Zone.³⁰ For about ten days, the factory and field workers had succeeded in greatly increasing what could be seen and said in this neo-colonial locality. But the fact that the workers were driven from the American Zone only strengthened their identification with the whole of Honduran society. Even though most of the strikers worked for the United Fruit Company, they were at the bottom of the hierarchy, a fact conspicuously underscored by the architecture of the American Zone itself. Likewise, though most of the strikers were Honduran, they enjoyed few of the rights and protections of citizenship and were clearly not members of the political elite. On May 18, the strike committee demanded, to no avail, that the soldiers be withdrawn.³¹

The military had been used to reverse the strikers' presence in the American Zone and to restore the previous distribution of what could be said and seen. The earlier forms of exclusion would be strictly enforced, especially in this important region of the city. Certain bodies and particular modes of being were allowed in this space and others were not. The first repressive step that the state and the company took toward restoring the old order involved physically and symbolically driving the workers from the heart of El Progreso. Cast out from the American Zone, the workers were the embodiment of the Honduran people. This is perhaps one reason why, three weeks into the strike, the CIA reported that the majority of Hondurans sympathized with the strikers and that the company had "practically no friends."³² Here, in the Ramón Rosa Plaza, banana workers, a group that hitherto had no securely defined place in the Honduran imaginary, could stand in for the whole of Honduran society.³³

The extreme Right sought to brand the strike leaders as communists manipulating the working masses. Such views were aggressively put forward by people like Abraham Williams Calderón, the presidential candidate for the Movimiento Nacional Reformista (MNR), an offshoot of former dictator Tiburcio Carías Andino's National Party. For the MNR, the popular religiosity of the workers, their self-imposed ban on alcohol, and their claims to patriotism were simply Soviet camouflage or further evidence of their naïveté, which it

^{30.} Barahona, *El silencio*, 167.

^{31.} Argueta, *La gran huelga*, 83.

^{32.} "Honduran Public Opinion Favors Strikers" (Central Intelligence Agency, 22 May 1954), HUL-012, Job 79-01025A, box 107, quoted in Cullather, *Secret History*, 79.

^{33.} For the logic of how "the part that has no part" comes to stand for the whole, see Žižek, "Lesson," 70.



Figure 6. Courtesy of the Rafael Platero Paz Archive.

mocked: "There's even Mass in the blessed strike."³⁴ At the same time, US Ambassador Whiting Willauer reported that the archbishop of San Pedro Sula, Monsignor Antonio Capdevilla, was "very useful in dividing the strike leaders from the extremist strike leaders, supporting the former with a considerable campaign through the priests accompanying the workers."³⁵

But in contrast to the claims of the hard Right and the official position of the Catholic Church in Honduras, consider Rafael Platero Paz's photograph of the striking workers participating in an open-air Mass in the Ramón Rosa Plaza (figure 6). In the image, dozens of men can be seen facing an improvised altar. Wearing white vestments, the Jesuit priest has his back turned to the congregation. The men have removed their hats, out of respect. Looking closely, one can see the deep stains on their work shirts. Some women and children have also come to celebrate the Eucharist. Most everyone within earshot of the priest appears to be reverently praying or paying attention.

The evidentiary function of the photo testifies to an authentically religious crowd. The group of people depicted subordinates itself to the authority of the priest. While respecting the priest and appealing to the divine, the workers had

34. "Que la Virgen de Suyapa está en la huelga," *Prensa Libre* (Tegucigalpa), 2 June 1954, quoted in Barahona, *El silencio*, 36.

35. Whiting Willauer to US Department of State, 5 June 1954, telegram no. 419, quoted in Argueta, *La gran huelga*, 96.

also succeeded in bringing the priest and the sacrament out of the church and into the autonomous space that they had created. The workers made the space holy. Work and civic life, religion and demands to be treated with dignity: the striking workers brought them all together in the Ramón Rosa Plaza. Far from the priests converting the workers, the 1954 strike may have begun the process of conversion for the Jesuits working in Honduras.

Such a reading of this image would help to square the private disdain that the priests showed for the strike movement with the way that they publicly tended to the spiritual needs of the workers. For instance, a newspaper correspondent from *El Progreso* reported with admiration: "The miraculous Virgin of Suyapa is on strike. The workers carried Her image to the Ramón Rosa Plaza, headquarters of the strike, and erected a beautiful altar, which they keep illuminated with a profusion of candles. They sang the Rosary to Her and held an Outdoor Mass, which the priests of our sacred parish church celebrated."³⁶ In the 1954 strike, workers not only asserted their dignity vis-à-vis the United Fruit Company and the Honduran state, they also refashioned their relation to the Catholic Church. The workers and their families remained fervently Catholic even as they enacted a popular religiosity that reflected their specific worldly needs.

As the striking workers carried a likeness of the Virgin of Suyapa through the streets of *El Progreso* to the Ramón Rosa Plaza, they reminded themselves, the Honduran state, the United Fruit Company, and the Catholic Church that there was a force mightier than each of them. The most powerful virgin in Honduras was on the side of the workers. In this outdoor setting—abandoned but pleading for protection from the state, the company, and the church—the workers transformed themselves from a heterogeneous group of isolated individuals into a collective agent with specific purposes and distinctive ways of representing itself. In doing so, they reoriented the existing normative order in the three most fundamental realms of power: political, economic, and religious. First, the workers reminded the Honduran government that it had a duty to care for those it governed, especially the factory and field workers of the north coast. Second, the workers insisted that the United Fruit Company had a duty to respect the rights of its employees, skilled and unskilled, women and men. Third, by forcefully asserting their inherent dignity, the workers and their families reminded the Catholic Church that it had a duty to care for the poor and for working people. But in constructing this new social reality in which dominant entities could be compelled to take up their duties toward their less

36. "Que la Virgen de Suyapa está en la huelga," quoted in Barahona, *El silencio*, 37.

powerful constituents, the workers needed more than a list of demands. As the newspaper correspondent from *El Progreso* reported, they summoned the *milagrosa*: "The mothers, the wives, the daughters, the sisters of the workers on strike, every night they pray to the Virgin and they ask her to help them through this painful and delicate trance."³⁷

Rafael Platero Paz was there to convert their prayers to the Virgin into allegorical still images of and for *progreseños*. This open-air Mass could thus be interpreted as a rebellion against the local Father in both his avatars, as the United Fruit Company and as Fr. Joseph Wade. Thus, within a Christian model of subjectivity, the striking workers de-reified both the corporate neoimperial structure of domination and the religious support that undergirded those dependent relations of production. The event of the strike thus sought to uproot the structures that had been built into the core of the workers' psyches and to rework those basic materials through an emancipatory politics that retrieved and reactivated a popular Catholicism that could serve at once as a source of inner strength while also offering the possibility of transcendental standards of love and justice against which the company, the state, the church, and peasants would have to measure themselves.³⁸

But allow me now to propose a literal interpretation of the Honduran newspaper report on the Virgin of Suyapa. "The miraculous Virgin of Suyapa is on strike" would mean that she was not willing to intercede on behalf of the workers. There was no need to. They were already changing their lives on their own. In other words, the 1954 strike also reveals the secularization of self-sculpting. The banana workers in Honduras demonstrated that the strike is labor's despiritualized High Mass, a set of ascetic practices self-imposed and publicly staged to activate an ethical response from spectators in the company, the state, and in a transnational community of those who might see these pictures.³⁹

In each Catholic Mass, the transubstantiation of bread and wine is dramatized, a ritual that encourages the faithful to contemplate their own lives in the context of a story that takes the universal, makes it human and suffering, only to pass again into the eternal and unconditionally loving. The Mass escorts the believer through interior exercises in which the devotee adopts a

37. Ibid.

38. I am playing here with an idea about how religion organizes submission to authority that I found in Bruno Bosteels's discussion of León Rozitchner's *La cosa y la cruz*; see Bosteels, *Marx and Freud*, 129–58.

39. For an extended meditation on dehabituation through freely accepted discipline, see Sloterdijk, *You Must*.

transcendent, God's-eye view of herself and considers what it might take to pass from this life into eternal life. This is a mental doubling not unlike the material doubling that photography enables between one's real self and one's ideal self. The workers, on strike and praying at the Mass in the Ramón Rosa Plaza, were coaching themselves, shoring up a frame of mind that would give them confidence in the inner acts and private decisions that were the true source of power in the 1954 strike, an outer collective act by which they attempted to secure a better place for themselves in this world.

The Visual Archive: Seeing and Feeling Subaltern

Acts of Self-Making

Many historians add photos to their books. But too often those images are afterthoughts, pictures that are apparently worth far less than a thousand words, almost none of which needs to be spoken. Scholars of Honduras are no different. Mario Argueta, Marvin Barahona, and Agapito Robleda Castro have used photos of the 1954 strike as illustrations, supplements to their carefully wrought arguments based on written and oral source material.⁴⁰ But for all their strengths, explanations of the causes and consequences of the strike most often fail to convey the affective sources of these defining events, much less the reflective acts of people struggling to denaturalize the economic and political norms that perpetuate their deprivation. Instead, even the testimonial literature creates a distance between the leader who is interviewed and the rank and file who remain silent, between the reader and the person giving her *testimonio*.

40. Robleda Castro, *La verdad*, features more than 80 photographs, at least a dozen of which were taken by Platero Paz. Barahona, *El silencio*, features 27 photographs, at least 5 of which were taken by Platero Paz. Guillermo Enrique Mahchi Carrasco found copies of Platero Paz's pictures in the scrapbooks of the Jesuit priests in El Progreso and in the private collections of the Alemán Castro and Hall Rivera families; see Mahchi Carrasco, *Archivo*. For examples of Platero Paz's pictures on blogs, on Facebook, and in YouTube videos, see "Huelga de 1954: ¿Nostalgia paralizadora o manual de lucha y organización?", Radio Progreso y el ERIC, last modified 2 May 2014, accessed 9 Feb. 2015, <http://radioprogresohn.net/index.php/comunicaciones/reportaje/item/876-huelga-de-1954-%C3%A1-nostalgia-paralizadora-o-manual-de-lucha-y-organizaci%C3%B3n>; "Anales históricos. -Estampas de la Gran Huelga de mayo de 1954," Honduras en sus manos's Facebook page, last modified 8 Nov. 2013, accessed 9 Feb. 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/Hondurasensusmanos/photos/a.461411157312531.1073741904.225271454259837/461411330645847/?type=3&permPage=1>; "HISTORIA DE HONDURAS Compañías Bananeras," YouTube video, posted by "elier martinez," 17 June 2014, <http://youtu.be/iOBOWXjzwRk>.

In contrast, Platero Paz's pictures of the striking banana workers, many of whom could not even sign their names on official government documents and instead had to leave their thumbprints (the original digital signature), invite proximity. Photographed faces attest to lived lives, to inner states, to obstacles confronted. A scar is a story, the wrinkles were earned, the knitted brow is an outward sign of inner turmoil. When we combine these photographs with traditional historical source material, we can better explain and feel what was at stake when thousands of workers withheld their labor. Photographs of the strike enable insights and emotions that traditional analysis of social and political developments does not provide: access to experiences that have long since been forgotten and may never have even consciously registered in the minds of the participants in those photographed moments, as well as ways to be touched and to have one's imagination captivated.⁴¹ But the photographs do not speak for themselves. From the present in which they are seen, photos require the beholder to actively and meaningfully link them to the pasts to which each image testifies.

My reworking of the strike as interior exercises in individual and collective self-government emerged not from the existing historiography on the strike, but from interpreting what had remained unremembered yet was clearly encoded within Platero Paz's pictures. With his photos in front of me, I began reading traditional sources to track changing conditions of visibility: to see how people altered who could be seen doing what when and where, as well as the ways that private enterprise demarcated itself and restored order by using public security forces. The prayers, the outdoor Masses, and the popular religiosity that animated the workers: these themes are absent from the historical literature on the defining event in twentieth-century Honduras. Platero Paz's pictures enable us to recover gazes, as well as embodied practices, that would otherwise have been annihilated by the myth of progress in *El Progreso*. It is our task to interpret these visual artifacts within the context of the material and social structures that conditioned who could do what in early Cold War Honduras. We create these narrative and analytical links while also taking stock of the technical constraints of the camera as a mechanical device, and, crucially, by making judgments about what we can infer regarding the intentions of the photographer and his subjects as they produced and isolated these moments on film.

Photographs of working peoples, moreover, are often created as sites of solidarity and endure as such many decades later, as new generations repurpose

41. For a powerful argument for incorporating affect as a critical lens for understanding photography, see Brown and Phu, "Introduction."

the images for the struggles that they face.⁴² Platero Paz's strike photos bear witness to the lives of people who sought to change how they were treated by a powerful company and their own government. These photos turn us into witnesses, responsible for what we see, of their lives. These photos make visible processes and struggles that the company and the state attempted to keep out of sight, and are thus central to recovering individual and collective memory. Furthermore, as deictic statements, photographs can be debated by anyone at any time. Some photos, unlike book-length arguments, are tight visual allegories that travel easily. Photographs do not require years of specialized training to begin interpreting them. And none of us has the last word on what they mean. Political activists have long known how to recuperate an old image to recharge a community's potential to act in the present. In the wake of the 2009 coup d'état that dragged President Manuel Zelaya out of the country in his pajamas, a movement to restore constitutional rule suddenly emerged, nourishing itself on memories of the 1954 strike. But this time it was not a sole studio photographer and a handful of photojournalists documenting and extending the moment; now anyone with a camera phone could work to restore the civil contract.

Beyond these historiographical contributions, I have sought to demonstrate how photos can be used to reinvigorate the writing of working-class history. Stepping back from this archive-driven argument, I would like now to risk offering a programmatic statement on how we might think about the photograph as source material for labor history.⁴³

The Subject of Photography

To build from the most self-evident of premises, the photo is not a pure and immediate representation of a subject prior to structure, ideology, or discourse. It is not the subject in itself, an unmediated being, unaffected by historical and place-specific formations of capitalist production and regimes of gender, nationalism, and religion. Rather, adapting philosopher Alain Badiou's theory of the subject, I maintain that the photo always indexes a subject in her place or in the place that she pretends to be. Hence if a given photo happens to index

42. I am attempting to extend Daniel James's notion of "sites of solidarity"; see James, *Doña María's Story*, 148.

43. I consider here some of the unique characteristics of photographic images, bracketing out a discussion of the visual archive as such. For an examination of a few stray images that escaped from an archive of capital and how they prompt a rethinking of the 1928 massacre of banana workers in Colombia, see Coleman, "Photos."

a subject in itself, it is always also marking the split between the subject-in-becoming and the society, norms, ideals, and material culture in which that subject finds herself. That is, the photograph registers not only a depicted person but also the place in which that person finds herself. In some rare photographs, the force of the subject may overwhelm the structures acting upon her. In such images, the subject creates herself and her place in the world as something positively new. But in most photos in which people are depicted, what registers is either the placing of the subject or the subject placing herself in a specific scene.⁴⁴

The photo and the subject it depicts are, moreover, known from a particular standpoint. To reckon with how and what we can know through the photograph, I draw on Ariella Azoulay's recent work to assert that photography mediates relations between people such that no single participant in a photographic encounter—neither photographer, nor sitter, nor viewer—has sovereign authority over how the resulting image will be used and interpreted. Azoulay's notions of "the civil contract of photography" and "the event of photography" can help us to extricate ourselves from what Latin American studies scholar Gareth Williams has called "the active implementation of center-periphery thinking," in which the subaltern becomes difference itself, located in a periphery to be accessed, and the intellectual becomes self-transparent, accessing the subaltern from the center.⁴⁵ The special characteristics of photography, and of the encounters that it enables, can shift this debate and level the playing field in ways that even testimonial literature cannot.

Azoulay argues that everyone who engages with photographs—producing, posing, storing, and looking at them—is a citizen in what she calls "the citizenry of photography." The citizenry of photography is not governed by a sovereign or limited by territoriality; it includes anyone who addresses others through images or who takes the position of a photo's addressee.⁴⁶ Furthermore, by entering into what Azoulay calls "the event of photography," anyone can attempt to reconstruct the broader situation within which marks were made on photographic paper, analyzing what happened within the frame and what may have been going on outside of the frame. But the mere presence of visual traces of subaltern agency does not guarantee that they will be recognized as such. As we look at the photograph that Platero Paz took of the mass of workers marching in El Progreso (figure 7), we have to think outside of the

44. Badiou, *Theory*, 37–39.

45. Azoulay, *Civil Contract*; Azoulay, *Civil Imagination*; Williams, *Other Side*, 86.

46. Azoulay, *Civil Imagination*, 13.



Figure 7. The materiality of this print suggests the photographer's rationale for selecting it from the dozens of pictures that he took of the strike. He likely sold this image as a postcard to some of the workers participating in the movement and to interested townspeople.

Courtesy of the Rafael Platero Paz Archive.

photographic frame and draw upon textual and oral sources to reconstruct the moment that led to this photographic event. In doing so, we are exercising what Azoulay calls “civil imagination,” reversing the image to think back to the moment when the picture was taken and to the conditions that enabled the 69-day appearance of this plural and popular sovereign.

For thinking both within and outside of the photographic frame, I employ philosopher Jacques Rancière’s notion of “the distribution of the sensible,” which provides a broad framework for analyzing the underlying historically constructed facts of sense perception that effectively limit what can be seen, said, and done in particular social arrangements.⁴⁷ The distribution of the sensible is the set of historically sedimented preconditions that govern what counts as speech in a specific situation as well as when and where certain kinds of people can be seen and heard. A given distribution of the sensible is disrupted, according to Rancière, when members of a community that has been excluded come forward and point to their exclusion. In this regard, anyone at any time can disrupt an arrangement of positions and sensibilities. Thus part of what I

47. Rancière, *Politics*; Rancière, *Disagreement*.

attempt to do in a broader study of the politics of images in *El Progreso* is to explain how the presence of the United Fruit Company and the hierarchy that it imposed between plantation workers, overseers, engineers, and general managers came to seem appropriate and even natural. By denouncing a wrong, the workers disrupted this distribution of places. The denunciation of low wages in the general strike of 1954 produced a dispute in which those who had been excluded from political, economic, and cultural decisions voiced a demand that presupposed a fundamental relation of equality with their putative superiors.

Bridging the theoretical space between Azoulay and Rancière, I conceptualize photography as a technical means of enacting new ways of seeing, thinking, and doing that are never fully controlled by the operator of the camera, the subject of the picture, or the viewer of the image. But whereas both Rancière and Azoulay focus on the social power of photographs and the ethics of spectators who encounter these images, I attempt to keep the subject before the camera in tight focus. My emphasis on the role of the subject of the photograph is, in large part, an accident of circumstance. As I conducted research into the politics of images in *El Progreso*, I never gave up searching for ways that photographs circulated and for the ways that people received and consumed these image objects. But what I found instead were splendid private archives and frustratingly few venues for the mass circulation of photos in early twentieth-century Central America. Circumscribed by what I could infer about the reception and distribution of images in neocolonial Honduras, I came to focus more on the subjects of the pictures. Photos can help us to understand the naturalization and production of economic impoverishment. But they can also beckon us to pause to contemplate the lives and loves of others. Platero Paz's photographs of the 1954 strike captured and extended a moment when workers changed what could be seen, said, and done in their banana company town.

In posing for a photo, the subject makes choices about who they are and who they want others to believe they are. Photography allows individuals to make subtle attacks on existing psychosocial conditions and on the existing allocation of privilege. Some photos are thus nano-assertions through which the photographic subject stages, practices, and embodies a new way of being. Thus I think of photography as a specific kind of trace-making mediation that produces self-awareness in the sitting subject.

In a word, I have come to think of a broad range of photographic genres—from disciplinary to documentary to studio—as social practices of self-forging. My notion of these photographic practices as purposive, repeatable exercises that slow down the act of looking and the interior reflection on the fact that one is being looked at is capacious enough to allow for photography to be

understood both as a means of surveillance, discipline, and classification and as a tool for self-sculpting. What photography as surveillance and photography as self-presentation have in common is that both are modes of practice that are consciously undertaken and gradually improved upon.

And while I have focused in this article on photographs of workers producing themselves rather than a product (the banana crop is literally cropped out of Platero Paz's pictures), the visual archive is particularly well suited for tracking the maintenance and reinvention of the entire commodity chain. That is, if writing the history of working peoples involves tracing the process by which private and public enterprises gather resources and transform them into products and services, then photography often functions both to reinscribe this sequential chain and to disrupt it in the ways that we have examined here. Visual media are, on the one hand, an integral part of a connective loop that produces the worker as a social type (e.g., Juan Valdez farming Colombian coffee beans), the consumption of the image of the worker and his geographic and cultural space, and, eventually, the branded product of labor. By capturing the worker in his or her place of work and then slapping a caption onto that image to clearly state the intended ontological determination, the production of the photograph and the production of the worker as such come off as coexistent. As photo historian Will Fysh says, "Producing the photo produces the worker producing the labor-product."⁴⁸ In this loop, the image of labor production is itself a product that produces us, the spectators, as consumers. On the other hand, consumer culture is often driven by commodity fetishism, which effectively erases the labor that went into production to turn the product into a fetish object. The Lady in the Tutti-Frutti Hat and Miss Chiquita, for example, invited us to consume the tropics by identifying the image with the product itself, which was emptied of the meaning of its production as labor in a marketing campaign that made working conditions invisible to the consumer. The rhetoric of photography is equally efficient in homogenizing labor into an ideal type whose qualities—manliness, earthiness, and "Latin sensuality"—attach to the product and, from the other direction, in evacuating any traces of the worker in utterly abject conditions producing the object to be desired. In both cases, photography serves to regenerate the commodity chain as a loop between production and consumption. And as Barthes pointed out more than 50 years ago, it is precisely the photo's indexicality, or the illusion of indexicality, that

48. Will Fysh (PhD candidate in History, University of Toronto), in discussion with the author, Jan. 2015; I am grateful to Will for helping me to clarify my thoughts on the value of photography for rethinking labor history.

naturalizes this process, assuring us that this is not merely visual rhetoric but something in the world that the camera recorded.

Yet, as I have shown here, photography can also short-circuit the transition between production and consumption, disrupting the economy of consumerism and instituting in its place a sphere of participation. As the banana workers in El Progreso merged otherwise discrete realms—social, economic, political, and religious—and as they worked to denaturalize the codes that had kept them in their place, they interrupted what was otherwise a conveyor belt from Honduran soil to kitchen tables in North America. So while the United Fruit Company Photograph Collection at Harvard University is an archive of banana production, Platero Paz's archive substitutes that labor with the labor of self-forging. Thus photography makes visible both the naturalized codes of labor production and the defamiliarizing of those codes through poetic self-making. Put differently, the “unconscious optics” of the camera reveal both the Taylorization of the workplace and the rationalization of the working body, as well as the hidden details and parallel stories of laborers producing themselves as citizens and self-emancipating subjects.⁴⁹

Photographic archives, which remain virtually untouched by historians of Latin America, offer source material that invites a rethinking not only of how working people were disciplined by business enterprises and nation-states, but also how they represented themselves and their aspirations. As these visual archives are engaged, historians of Latin America will invent new conceptual tools for accessing and understanding the self-aware presence of labor in the shaping of historical events, especially those that have been covered over as workers were so often outmatched by capital and the state.

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49. On the “unconscious optics” of the camera, see Benjamin, “Work of Art,” 237.

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Obituaries

Tulio Halperin Donghi (1926–2014)

Tulio Halperin Donghi, a towering figure in the fields of Argentine and Latin American history, died on November 14, 2014, in Berkeley, California. Incisive and prolific, Halperin was a twentieth-century intellectual with the range and passion of a nineteenth-century humanist. While he made use of nearly all the theoretical “turns” that swept history after 1960, he never allowed any one approach to dominate his astute and often-caustic interpretations of the past. He was the author of 24 books, including pioneering monographs, major works of synthesis, essay collections, and a powerful memoir of his formative years. His first book was published in 1951, and his last a month before he passed away.

Halperin was born into a socially plebeian but intellectually elite family in Buenos Aires: his father was a teacher of Latin, his mother a professor of literature, both well integrated into the dynamic world of the *porteño* intelligentsia. After briefly studying chemistry at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, Halperin decided that his real interests lay in history. On the advice of a family friend, historian José Luis Romero, he earned a degree in law, just to be sure that he could make a living, and then a second in history. Along the way, he spent nearly a year in Turin, taking courses and discovering the writings of Antonio Gramsci. He completed both degrees in record time, although he never would practice law, as a steady stream of book reviews for newspapers and articles for encyclopedias soon brought in a modest income. His warm commentary on Fernand Braudel’s *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1949) led the French historian to invite Halperin to pursue doctoral studies under his supervision. Braudel would later comment that “only a young Argentine historian of Jewish origin had understood what I was trying to do,” while Halperin, for his part, would recognize the “overwhelming influence” of Braudel on his work, starting with his doctoral dissertation on medieval Spain, published in 1955.

With the fall of Peronism, Halperin came into his own as a writer and teacher intensely engaged in remaking the university. Admired and feared,

he became a professor and dean at the Universidad Nacional del Litoral (1955–1960) and then a professor at the Universidad de Buenos Aires (1959–1966). Along with its intellectual challenges, this period offered a practical training in the rough-and-tumble of politics that would indirectly inform his historical work: he later remarked on some similarities in size and dynamics between revolutionary Buenos Aires circa 1810 and its university around 1960. Yet politics, whether in the past or in his own life, remained more a spectacle to reflect on than a sphere of committed action. Time and again, he made clear that “retrospective militancy” was not his task as a historian.

Immediately after a 1966 military coup overthrew the elected government and sent soldiers into the university, Halperin resigned his post in protest, along with many colleagues. After a brief stint teaching at the Universidad de la República in Uruguay (1966–1967), and somewhat disappointing experiences at Harvard University (1967–1970) and the University of Oxford (1970–1971), he accepted a position at the University of California, Berkeley, where he would remain until 1997.

From the beginning, Halperin found himself at ease in the political ferment and intellectual seriousness of Berkeley. But after his deep involvement in academic politics in Rosario and Buenos Aires, he took a different tack, becoming a respected but distant presence in the history department, with his interventions in internal academic politics as significant as they were rare. Outside the department, on campus and in the US academy, he was more of a senior figure than an institution builder, never fully in step with the social-scientific direction of Latin American studies or the European and North American dominance of history as a discipline. His lectures were biting, ironic, demanding, and full of perfectly apt and wonderfully recalled topical anecdotes. Though entrancing to colleagues and fascinating for graduate students, they were sometimes baffling to the California undergraduates who found their way into his lecture hall.

Halperin continued to live an Argentine intellectual life outside Argentina. He briefly considered returning in 1973, but neither private think tanks nor those directing the Universidad de Buenos Aires welcomed his initiative, and he remained in California. Still, he continued to discreetly visit even in the darkest years of military rule. For many years, long before the Internet, he read with devotion the international editions of Argentine papers that reached him once every week. This was how he kept alive, with much effort, the “portable country” of memory that he inhabited from afar and with notable intensity. With the return of democracy and the rebirth of universities, he truly came into his own on the Argentine intellectual scene. Over the next three decades,

Halperin would be a crucial external ally in rebuilding history as a discipline, serving as interlocutor, evaluator, and reference point for a generation of new scholarship. He was a regular presence at conferences and taught graduate courses at universities across the country, particularly after he formally retired from Berkeley. Yet even as he became the leading figure of the newly professionalized historical “establishment,” Halperin remained sharp and reflexive, and he was particularly attentive to younger scholars, overlooking the emerging hierarchies of the renewed discipline to follow their work and take their findings seriously, whether to challenge or champion them. Traditional institutions like the Academia Nacional de la Historia de la República Argentina proved more resistant to his work; only after repeated efforts by a handful of its members was he nominated “académico correspondiente en los Estados Unidos,” in 1996. Even so, few would dispute that Halperin was the most influential Argentine historian of the last third of the century, as reflected in the arguments of many monographs, the anecdotes of dozens of published personal recollections, and even a polemical essay collection titled *Discutir Halperin* (1997). His influence was also reflected in the frequent interviews that he gave to newspapers across the political spectrum; even at the most polarized moments, he spoke with everyone, using often-unexpected historical insights to dispassionately analyze the present.

Entering the profession at the moment when historians were beginning to seriously employ the methods of social science, Halperin made deft use throughout his career of the latest approaches, from social history to price history to dependency theory, while making often-prescient remarks on the limitations of each. He attended closely to larger questions of structure but also to the immediacy of politics, to events as well as to ideas, to the state and to civil society. He wrote persuasively about such varied themes as the shifting composition of the early nineteenth-century Buenos Aires upper class or the social dynamics of cereal cultivation on the frontier or the years before the emergence of Peronism. But regardless of the problem that he was tackling or the tools employed, his central concerns throughout remained political and intellectual history.

Halperin’s work ranged across centuries, from medieval Spain, through the Bourbon reforms and Latin American independence, and down to the late twentieth century. Attentive as he was to the *longue durée*, it was rarely the center of his inquiries. Instead, the core of his method, the focus of his attention, was the conjuncture; he was a master of the historical moment considered as part of larger processes. These historical moments were always densely populated, by

elites of various stripes, middling groups, and popular sectors, none ever treated in essentialist terms.

His prose was famously baroque, even slightly antique, a heritage of years of Latin and a not-so-hidden homage to the nineteenth-century statesmen-thinkers with whom he struggled so eloquently. But the purposes to which he put that prose were strikingly contemporary, even cinematic, exploring individual moments of political decision or social change in all their multiplicity. Halperin was a singular prose stylist, crafting sentences of masterful complexity whose intricacy conveyed the subtleties, feints, and reversals key to his mode of historical thought. More than a flourish, these sentences were the heart of his craft, unsettling implicit assumptions, switching perspectives, highlighting unresolved ambiguities, proposing lines of interpretation only to partly undercut them, and mirroring the ambivalence and untidiness of historical processes. They made challenging rather than pleasurable reading, but the pleasures of their challenge have animated generations of scholarship since.

In all his work, Halperin resisted the temptation to narrate an inevitable national “progress” or to directly map present-day political commitments onto past experiences. Many of the questions that he posed to the past were informed by a present that fascinated him, to be sure, but this link was the spark rather than the conclusion for his work. This sensibility was perhaps best captured in the title and theme of his essay “Canción de otoño en primavera,” reprinted in *El espejo de la historia* (1986).

While Argentina was his central passion, Halperin was deeply engaged with broader debates about Latin America. His *Historia contemporánea de América latina* (the first Spanish edition of which appeared in 1969) became an instant classic, with 13 editions in Spanish and translations to Italian, French, Portuguese, Swedish, German, and, finally, English (in 1993). In many countries, this book was the backbone of Latin American history courses from the 1970s forward, with a framework inflected by dependency theory but never subordinated to it. Crucially, his rigorous exploration of shared legacies and family resemblances across national histories is never reductive; the specificities of each experience are never dissolved in a regional generalization. His analytical range across the continent was also evident in his masterful works on the era of independence: *Hispanoamérica después de la independencia* (1972) and *Reforma y disolución de los imperios ibéricos, 1750–1850* (1985).

Broadly speaking, Halperin’s work on Argentina falls into three strands. The first relates to the creation of a new nation in the nineteenth century. The crowning achievement within this area is *Revolución y guerra* (1972). The English translation, published as *Politics, Economics, and Society in Argentina in the*

Revolutionary Period (1975), won the 1976 Clarence H. Haring Prize of the American Historical Association, for the best work by a Latin American historian. Embracing geography, economics, and sociology, the book describes the destruction of old elites and the creation of new ones in the crucible of the war for independence. It recast the history of a much-studied period in an entirely new way, and even decades later the scholarship on the period continues to be structured by the questions that Halperin posed. Another crucial work is his brilliant *Una nación para el desierto argentino* (1982), originally published as the book-length introduction to the anthology *Proyecto y construcción de una nación* (1980). Likely the most influential work on the founding fathers of liberal Argentina, Halperin's study continues to set the standard for integrating political, intellectual, and social history.

The second strand has focused on mass politics, and especially Peronism. In two book-length polemical essays, *Argentina en el callejón* (1964) and *La larga agonía de la Argentina peronista* (1994), Halperin explored the broad impact of the "Peronist revolution" that transformed the country at midcentury and the unstable and finally explosive political stalemate that it left in its wake. While neither essay was rooted in archival research, both offered compelling accounts of the country's crisis that proved broadly influential in public debate and future scholarship. Even as the Peronist movement has proven more resilient than he perhaps imagined, his analysis of the long demise of "Peronist Argentina" as a set of social arrangements and its final implosion after hyperinflation in 1989 remains the touchstone for debate. Toward the end of his career, Halperin returned to the tumultuous years of mass politics before Peronism, producing three essential works of political history: *Vida y muerte de la República verdadera* (1910–1930) (1999), *La Argentina y la tormenta del mundo* (2003), and *La República imposible* (1930–1945) (2004).

A third strand consists of intellectual history, or better stated, the history of intellectuals, especially in the nineteenth century. His first book was a pioneering interrogation of "el pensamiento de Echeverría" (1951); his penultimate book, *Letrados y pensadores* (2013), a tour de force on the autobiographies of Latin American intellectuals. Especially outstanding here is his 1986 study of José Hernández, the author of *Martín Fierro*. The book focuses less on the poem itself than on how this middling newspaperman and minor political figure came to write the national classic. Examining Hernández's intellectual formation through his long career as a political journalist, Halperin transformed the study of this convoluted era and recast literary studies of a landmark work. Fittingly, Halperin's final book, *El enigma Belgrano* (2014), returned to the ambiguous legacies of a founding father, prompting glowing reviews in print media and

fierce denunciations from would-be defenders of a static vision of the past. Down to the end, he remained committed to history as an act of critique.

It was in the later years of his career when Tulio Halperin began to receive extensive recognition for his intellectual trajectory, including honorary degrees from universities in Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay. The Fundación Konex in Argentina awarded him the Premio Konex de Platino and the Diploma al Mérito in 1994 and 2004, and a Mención Especial por Trayectoria in 2014. He was given the Distinguished Service Award from the Conference on Latin American History (1994) and the Award for Scholarly Distinction from the American Historical Association (1998). He was named a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2006, and received the Kalman Silvert Award from the Latin American Studies Association in 2014, the year of his death.

Tulio Halperin Donghi thought, celebrated, and suffered Argentina. Deeply informed on many specialized topics, he remained skeptical of the narrowness of the specialist. With passion, sophistication, and a measured dose of pessimism, he reflected tirelessly on the past as an open problem and the future as an uncertain challenge. With his departure, we have lost an extraordinary and multifaceted intellectual, and a crucial voice.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088608

Silvio Zavala (1909–2014)

Silvio Arturo Zavala Vallado nació en Mérida, Yucatán, el 7 de febrero de 1909 y falleció en México, D. F., el 4 de diciembre de 2014, poco antes de cumplir 106 años. Segundo de seis hermanos, hijos de una ilustre familia yucateca, hizo los estudios primarios y secundarios en su ciudad natal, donde inició la carrera de derecho (1927–1928), que continuó en la Universidad Nacional de México (1929–1931) y terminó en 1933 en la Universidad Central de Madrid, a la que llegó como becario del gobierno español en 1931 cuando se proclamó la República. De estos años datan sus primeras publicaciones, en las que muestra interés por el derecho constitucional y una clara percepción del momento político. En 1932 obtuvo la licenciatura con la memoria “El Tercero en el Derecho Mejicano” y, en 1933, el doctorado en derecho con la tesis *Los intereses*

particulares en la conquista de la Nueva España. (Estudio histórico-jurídico), bajo la dirección del jurista e historiador de la civilización española Rafael Altamira. Ambos estudios se publicaron en España y posteriormente en México.

Hasta 1936 trabajó en la Sección Hispanoamericana del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Madrid, que dirigía Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Ahí convivió con destacados filólogos e historiadores y publicó sus primeros libros: *Las instituciones jurídicas en la conquista de América* y *La encomienda india* (1935), al tiempo que abordaba otros temas relacionados con la historia de las ideas y las instituciones que daría a conocer en sucesivas publicaciones.

A fines de 1936 regresó a México. Convencido de la necesidad del estudio de la historia del Nuevo Mundo en el amplio contexto de la historia universal, se procuró los medios para continuar sus investigaciones y para formar investigadores. Viajó a Estados Unidos, donde estableció relación con Lewis Hanke y con otros historiadores. En 1938 fundó la *Revista de Historia de América* (que dirigió hasta 1965), en la que aparecieron estudios de autores reconocidos y trabajos de jóvenes historiadores formados en México.

Siendo secretario del Museo Nacional, Silvio Zavala logró que la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México becara a estudiantes de diversas carreras para adiestrarlos en las tareas de la investigación histórica, pero el intento fracasó, pues los becarios, interesados en estudios profesionales, no perseveraron en el empeño. El lugar y los medios para lograrlo los ofreció El Colegio de México, fundado en 1940 como sucesor de La Casa de España en México, creada en 1938 para acoger científicos y humanistas de la República Española. Siguiendo el plan propuesto por Silvio Zavala, Alfonso Reyes y Daniel Cosío Villegas, presidente y secretario de la institución, acordaron el establecimiento del Centro de Estudios Históricos, que inició labores el 14 de abril de 1941 bajo un programa que exigía plena dedicación a alumnos hispanoamericanos, a quienes se formaría en historia universal, historia de América y se les dotaría de destrezas para que indagaran la historia de sus países, aprovechando archivos, bibliotecas y repositorios que tuvieran a su alcance.

En compañía de María Castelo, Silvio Zavala recorrió distintas partes del país para conocer archivos y bibliotecas; elaboró informes sobre los repositorios documentales que visitó; estableció relaciones con quienes cultivaban la historia; y atrajo a jóvenes interesados en el programa del Centro de Estudios Históricos. Posteriormente, en 1944, ambos viajaron a Buenos Aires becados por la Comisión Nacional de Cultura Argentina y por la Fundación Rockefeller, y recorrieron diversos países de Hispanoamérica (Argentina, Paraguay, Chile, Perú, Ecuador, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Cuba y Puerto Rico). El viaje fructificó en el conocimiento de los archivos y repositorios, en el

diagnóstico de posibilidades y problemas de la investigación histórica y en la atracción de jóvenes que se formarían como historiadores en El Colegio de México en tres promociones (1941–1944, 1943–1946 y 1946–1949). A todos se les exigió la entrega de trabajos de fin de cursos –algunos se publicaron como artículos y capítulos– y tesis de maestría, que en su momento aparecieron como libros.

La historia institucional que cultivó Silvio Zavala exigía una visión comparativa de las sociedades del Nuevo Mundo. Esta visión le permitió notar similitudes y diferencias, críticas, impugnaciones y propuestas sobre lo que era y sobre lo que debía ser la apropiación de los recursos y el dominio sobre los naturales de América, así como fracasos y logros en el orden justo, como lo advirtió al estudiar la obra de Vasco de Quiroga, inspirada en la *Utopía* de Tomás Moro, cuando publicó ediciones críticas de importantes autores del siglo XVI, y en estudios esclarecedores como *Servidumbre natural y libertad según los tratadistas de los siglos XVI y XVII* (1944) y *La filosofía política de la conquista de América* (1947), hasta llegar a visiones de América en los siglos XVIII y XIX.

El gran proyecto de Silvio Zavala fue la historia del trabajo de los indios, como se llamó a los naturales del Nuevo Mundo. El problema aparece ya en sus primeros libros y cobró entidad propia después de su llegada a México, en los años treinta. Fue entonces cuando emprendió, junto con María Castelo, la recopilación y publicación de las *Fuentes para la Historia del trabajo en Nueva España* (1575–1805), ocho tomos que aparecieron entre 1939 y 1946, al tiempo que publicaba artículos sobre “Los trabajadores antillanos en el siglo XVI”, los esclavos indios en Nueva España, estudios de largo alcance como “Orígenes coloniales del peonaje en México” (1944) y otros circunscritos a épocas y lugares determinados de Hispanoamérica. La dimensión del problema le exigió un gran esfuerzo en materia de recopilación y organización de fuentes en México, e hizo lo propio para América del Sur, lo que le permitió dar a conocer documentos para el estudio de *El servicio personal de los indios en El Perú* (tres tomos relativos a los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII, publicados en 1978, 1979 y 1980) y otras regiones de Hispanoamérica. Zavala abordó momentos y relaciones determinados en libros de diversa extensión y en numerosos artículos. Entre 1984 y 1996 aparecieron ocho volúmenes de *El servicio personal de los indios en la Nueva España*, que abarcan todo el periodo colonial, de 1521 a 1821. En dichos tomos organizó los materiales reunidos a lo largo de muchos años, orientando al lector mediante extensas introducciones en las que distinguía la evolución general del régimen de trabajo y las empresas en las que se ocupaba la actividad de aquellos trabajadores remunerados, a diferencia de los esclavos (de los que se ocupó en un libro, *Los esclavos indios en Nueva España*, publicado en

1968, así como en diversos artículos y capítulos). Silvio Zavala tuvo el cuidado de hacer referencia a otros estudios y testimonios para que los lectores pudieran aprovechar el esfuerzo de tantos años dedicado a la historia del trabajo en Nueva España.

No quedó ahí el empeño del investigador: también le interesaba aprovechar las posibilidades de la historiografía contemporánea en la visión comprensiva de América. Para ello procuró también espacios y medios. De 1947 a 1965 presidió la Comisión de Historia del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, que acogió el Programa de Historia de América. Desde ahí convocó a historiadores angloamericanos, europeos e iberoamericanos, cuyos trabajos se fueron dando a conocer en sucesivas publicaciones. Zavala asumió la coordinación de la época colonial, de la cual abarcó los aspectos geográficos, económicos, sociales, políticos y culturales. El resumen del *Programa de historia de América* apareció en 1961 y la versión más ambiciosa y acabada en 1968, bajo el título *El mundo americano en la época colonial*, dos volúmenes en los que se halla la exposición de visiones logradas y que dan cuenta de los avances historiográficos en los temas tratados.

En ese esfuerzo del investigador estaba también la experiencia del funcionario y representante de México en instancias internacionales. En 1937 y 1938 Zavala fue secretario del Museo Nacional de México; de 1946 a 1954, director del Museo Nacional de Historia; en el Castillo de Chapultepec, consejero cultural de la Embajada de México en Francia (1956–1958); y delegado permanente de México ante la UNESCO (1956–1963). En 1963 regresó a El Colegio de México, que presidió hasta 1966. Como presidente afirmó la vocación internacional de la institución, y además estableció la “Sección de Estudios Orientales” en el Centro de Estudios Internacionales, para acercar los programas docentes y de investigación a sociedades geográfica y culturalmente lejanas. Dicha sección daría origen al Centro de Estudios de Asia y África. La visión universal de la realidad, propia de una institución dedicada a las humanidades y a las ciencias sociales, se fortaleció bajo la presidencia de Silvio Zavala, empeñado en atraer a profesores y estudiantes de diversas partes del mundo para hacerlos participar en los distintos centros de estudios que se iban formando. En 1981 Zavala recibió el nombramiento de Profesor Emérito de El Colegio de México. Fue el primero de la institución en la que había fundado y dirigido el primer centro de estudios.

En el servicio exterior se desempeñó nuevamente de 1966 a 1975 como embajador de México en Francia. Tuvo que alejarse entonces de la vida académica, sin abandonar por ello la investigación y la enseñanza. Impartió regularmente cursos anuales en El Colegio Nacional, del que fue miembro titular

desde 1947, y publicó libros y artículos. Cuando se retiró, en 1975, “volvió a sus papeles” de historia del trabajo y escribió en los periódicos para defender el patrimonio urbano y cultural del país. Participó en foros y actividades, lo que afirmó el reconocimiento y agrandó el número de premios y distinciones que recibió. Destacamos dos: el Premio Nacional en Artes y Ciencias y Letras, en 1968, y en 1993 el Premio Príncipe de Asturias.

Atento al paso de los años, Silvio Zavala dio cuenta de su *Biobibliografía* en sucesivas ediciones (El Colegio Nacional, 1982, 1993 y 1999); donó su biblioteca al Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, y su archivo personal a la Biblioteca del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, para asegurar su conservación y utilidad. Oportunamente dispuso lo necesario para el descanso de sus restos. Murió con la tranquilidad del hombre previsor, dueño de su experiencia.

Quien quiera asomarse a la trama de esa vida intelectual, puede de consultar tres libros publicados recientemente por El Colegio de México: *Fronteras conquistadas. Correspondencia Alfonso Reyes/Silvio Zavala, 1937–1958* (1998), *Primeras jornadas, 1931–1937* (2009) y *Exilio político y gratitud intelectual. Rafael Altamira en el Archivo personal de Silvio Zavala, 1937–1946* (2012) y adentrarse en los documentos de su archivo, abiertos a la consulta pública.

ANDRÉS LIRA, El Colegio de México

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088620

Book Reviews

General and Sources

Art and Architecture in Mexico. By JAMES OLES. Thames & Hudson World of Art. London: Thames & Hudson, 2013. Photographs. Figures. Bibliographic essay. Index. 432 pp. Paper, \$26.95.

This book is a timely contribution to the literature in English about Latin American art. It is the first extensive English-language survey of Mexican art since Joshua Taylor's translation of Justino Fernández's book *Arte mexicano, de sus orígenes a nuestros días* (1958), published as *A Guide to Mexican Art* (1969). The later compendium *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries* (1990), released in connection with the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition of the same title, covered select Mexican works from antiquity to the first half of the twentieth century and is now out of print.

In contrast to these precedents, James Oles's book concentrates on the art of colonial and independent Mexico to the exclusion of ancient Mexican art. This decision fits within recent developments in the history of art that stress the specificity of each region and period of Latin American art. Oles extends this approach to illustrate the diversity of Mexican art within Mexico by covering artistic production not only in Mexico City but also in regional areas. Simultaneously, the book acknowledges the field's attention to globalization by analyzing Mexican art in relation to a multiplicity of international styles and tendencies.

Art and Architecture in Mexico is well researched and effectively summarizes and elaborates on the relevant scholarship in the history of Mexican art. The author presents the material chronologically, illuminating his formal analysis of the artworks with references to pertinent social and political issues. This book is exceptionally strong in its coverage of modern art, especially for the period from 1960 through 2000, including sustained discussions of abstract, conceptual, and performance art as well as artists' collectives, which to this date are understudied. The breadth of the artistic material, the solid documentary foundation, and Oles's clear and engaging writing style make this volume an excellent resource for introducing undergraduates to the history of Mexican art.

Because Oles recognizes that Mexican art developed within global networks, he proposes to turn from the "pervasive" theoretical framework of *mestizaje* that scholars have used to describe the integration of indigenous with Spanish artistic traditions to the

more inclusive concept of hybridity (pp. 10–11). In his opinion, hybridity functions as a capacious term that includes not only Aztec and Spanish but also other European artists as well as slaves, merchants, artisans, travelers, and émigrés from various parts of the world (p. 11). While this reasoning is clear, in the rest of the book Oles seldom mentions hybridity explicitly, except in relation to the art of the sixteenth century. In this section, he asserts that cultural hybridity mirrors racial hybridity (p. 21). In the remainder of the book, the reader is left to infer hybridity from his explications of the artworks, which do not reference the original theoretical frame. For example, in a section on *casta* paintings, the discussion focuses on the phenomenon of racial mixing, with acknowledgment of some of the works' European pictorial sources but with no direct reference to hybridity. The relationship of both mestizaje and hybridity to race is complicated as Oles later identifies neocolonial architecture from the early twentieth century as a perfect expression of mestizaje (p. 236).

In his famous essay “Indianism, *Mestizaje*, and *Indigenismo* as Classical, Medieval, and Modern Traditions in Latin America” (1966), George Kubler forcefully critiqued the application of the concept of mestizaje to art on the grounds that it was a “racialized expression.” To Kubler, race and art were incommensurable categories. In his book *The Mestizo Mind* (1999), historian Serge Gruzinski explains mestizaje as Spanish and indigenous mixtures but limits its use to the sixteenth century. Considering these understandings of mestizaje, Oles is justified in thinking the term too restrictive to describe Mexican art, but surprisingly, he expresses no reservations concerning hybridity.

The concept of hybridity has been subject to volumes of critique since the mid-1980s, mostly in response to writings by Homi K. Bhabha later reprinted in the collection *The Location of Culture* (1994). In the celebrated essay “Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America” (2003), the art historians Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn eloquently argued against the utility of hybridity as a descriptive term for colonial Latin American art because, like race, it failed to illuminate anything but surface phenomena, leaving invisible and essential aspects of artistic practices, such as labor, unexamined. Oles mentions this article in a bibliographical essay (p. 412) but fails to engage with it in the text. Addressing at least some of the previous critiques of both mestizaje and hybridity would have strengthened this book’s theoretical frame. These omissions do not diminish the book’s considerable didactic value. Rather, they raise the question of whether a theoretical gesture without expansion adds anything to a substantial survey text.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088632

Native Brazil: Beyond the Convert and the Cannibal, 1500–1900. Edited by HAL LANGFUR. Diálogos. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 285 pp. Paper, \$29.95.

The absence of native voices in historical accounts of the Americas is due, at least in part, to the canons of historic scholarship. The present volume sets out to correct this by

gleaning new interpretations from conventional sources such as clerical records, military archives, civil registries, court documents, and official correspondence, as well as unconventional resources such as maps, ethnographies, and oral accounts.

The book's eight chapters examine nearly four centuries of assimilation, accommodation, and resistance (1500–1890) as the Portuguese colony and, later, the Brazilian state expanded inland. Two chapters take up the *aldeia*, or mission village system, the systematic resettlement of indigenous populations into agricultural communities where they could be governed, groomed in European habits, trained as laborers, and converted to Christianity. The first of these, by Alida Metcalf, considers the sixteenth-century arrival of the Jesuits to claim that "the mission village was not imposed from Lisbon or Rome, but evolved on the ground in Brazil" (p. 30). Metcalf reviews early Jesuit policies as they emerged from theological interpretation, practical considerations, and a commitment to evangelism based on Thomist and Augustinian principles. She considers, for example, changing Jesuit policies regarding indigenous polygyny and cousin marriage.

Metcalf also addresses Jesuit attitudes toward the colonial practice of Indian slavery. Unlike Africa, where conversion to Christianity was mobilized to justify slavery, prominent clerics in the Americas opposed slavery on the grounds that it impeded evangelism (p. 37). Given the importance of Metcalf's claims to the history of the church in Latin America, however, I find it problematic that she never considers the Jesuits of 1550s Brazil within the larger ambit of international debates among clergy over New World slavery. Nor does Metcalf compare the Portuguese mission villages to similar programs, known as *reducciones*, that began in the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1567 and extended throughout the Spanish Americas. If the mission village "evolved on the ground in Brazil," it served as a far-reaching model for all Portuguese and Spanish colonies in the New World.

Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida examines the *aldeia* system two centuries later to argue that its indigenous inhabitants displayed forms of agency not before recognized by researchers. Notwithstanding forced resettlement and labor recruitment, the indigenous residents, Almeida argues, were able to shape the *aldeia* communities in keeping with their own values and identities. By mining unconventional sources, she documents a number of revenue-generating activities by indigenous residents. The significance of such data, however, lies in revelations about the *aldeia* system's demise. From the middle to the end of the eighteenth century, the colonial economy radically shifted away from church monopolies and toward secularism and privatization. Reforms between 1757 and 1798 stripped the missions of their monopoly over indigenous labor and brought about the beginnings of a wage-based indigenous labor force and the conversion of indigenous land to private holdings. *Aldeias* that persisted into the nineteenth century did so in fundamentally altered forms.

Barbara Sommer addresses the same period for late colonial Pará, yet she emphasizes social and political mobility among postaldeia populations. Relying on anthropological accounts and rare correspondence, Sommer takes up the eighteenth-century creation of an indigenous elite who furthered their own interests through strategies that tied them to colonial administrators. The chapter makes an important contribution to a

growing literature on indigenous agency. Two chapters take up settler society in the mining regions of colonial Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. The chapter by Hal Langfur and Maria Leônia Chaves de Resende documents the way that former military captives and aldeia residents escaped to mining towns, where they lived under the tutelage of colonists. By artfully negotiating identity, the authors show, descendants of captives became fully incorporated into local social and cultural life (p. 151).

Like Langfur and Resende, Judy Bieber is concerned with expeditions into the expanding western frontier. She takes up the long pursuit of the resistant Botocudo during the Brazilian empire (1822–1889). The independence of the Botocudo has been well documented; Bieber draws on military records and ethnographic accounts to provide an original analysis that sets the policies of the state against the lifeways and interests of the Indians. In the only chapter by an anthropologist, Neil Whitehead surveys early European competition for resources and native loyalties in the northeastern Amazon. He describes how English, Irish, Dutch, and French traders established important partnerships with the region's indigenous peoples, providing them with metal tools in exchange for hardwoods, dyes, and other forest products. By contrast, Portuguese colonization, he tells us, proceeded slowly, limited to military expeditions to secure the region and control the indigenous populations.

Mary Karasch's chapter provides an important metadiscussion of the book's main problematic: reconstructing an indigenous history from colonial records. "The narration of Indian policy in Goiás," Karasch writes, "is a one-sided affair in historical documentation. Rarely does the Indian perspective appear in official records" (p. 199). Karasch exercises appropriate scrutiny when she notes that the colonial record cannot be taken at face value. By tempering reports from Lisbon with on-the-ground realities, she recounts how the Goiás gold rush hindered missionary activity "as priests took up mining with their own enslaved Africans, acquired fortunes in gold, and returned to Lisbon" (pp. 200–201). She points out that unless financial resources and efforts were committed to them, official policies were rarely implemented. Moreover, Karasch concludes, "the very failure of Luso-Brazilian Indian policy (i.e., to commit significant financial resources and administrative talent to official efforts to settle down, civilize, and Christianize the Indians) in part permitted [Native American] survival" (p. 200).

In the fitting final chapter, Karasch and David McCreery discuss resistance to slavery and pacification by native groups of central Brazil to argue that "indigenous sociopolitical structures . . . made it possible for some of them to endure in spite of warfare, conquest, and enslavement" (p. 199).

Despite its title, and because of the methodological constraints recognized by its contributors, this book is less about "native Brazil" than it is about what Richard White called the "middle ground," a terrain forged between colonizers (colonists, missionaries, and government authorities) and Indians (husbands, wives, chiefs, shamans, and so on) on which opposing sides affected one another, shared experiences, formed alliances, and fought over freedoms, territories, meanings, and lives. That said, the authors bring important new research methodologies and interpretations to situate the Indian as an active agent within this shared history. The extent to which they capture the elusive

dialogue between the indigenous community and the state is a model for historians of the Americas. The book makes a superb addition to the field known as the “new Indian history.”

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088644

Usos políticos de la historia: Lenguaje de clases y revisionismo histórico. By JOSÉ CARLOS CHIARAMONTE. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2013. Notes. 300 pp. Paper.

This volume contains seven major research articles and six shorter pieces for a broader public, most of which have been published before. But they conveniently bring together a focused scholarly production by José Carlos Chiaramonte over the past 15 years on the history of concepts, political language, and ideas, as well as central historiographical debates. The volume is a joy to read due to the author’s remarkable erudition, depth of understanding of key problems in Latin American history and in the social sciences, and innovative, independent ideas, even if at times one might wish for somewhat simpler prose.

The volume’s first, smaller part deals with the history of the concept of class and why it suffered under intrinsic tensions from the very outset in the early to mid-nineteenth century. The second, longer, and weightier part tackles the history and meaning of revisionism in Argentine historiography and, in order to debunk much of the now official revisionism fostered by Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s government, delves into the history of constitutions, notions of sovereignty, and federalism in Argentina and beyond between the late colonial era and the early twentieth century.

Chiaramonte stresses that Argentine revisionism became overtly linked to politics only since the 1930s; there was an earlier juridical and historiographic revisionism beginning no later than the 1890s that was more scholarly and nonpolitical. It countered the nineteenth-century hegemony of Buenos Aires–centric and liberal historians such as Bartolomé Mitre and Vicente Fidel López, who had seen the “national spirit” emanating from a selfless Buenos Aires elite fighting against the selfish promoters of the “spirit of localism” in the provinces (p. 100). Beginning with constitutionalists at the Universidad de La Plata, scholars debated whether there had been a sense of Argentine nation already by 1810, and thus the provinces could never claim separate sovereignty, or whether sovereignty originally resided in the provinces, which only began to cede it to the Argentine Confederation after 1852. Constitutional law scholars at La Plata during the 1910s and 1920s, from A. González Litardo to Emilio Ravignani, argued that the provincial caudillos of the early independence era were not separatists; instead, by concluding interprovincial pacts and mobilizing the gauchos, they spread the sense of Argentine nationhood throughout the country’s interior. This was also a defense of Argentine federalism, which had been maligned by most Buenos Aires intellectuals and which became central to politics after the crisis of 1880. Still, Argentine constitutional law throughout the twentieth century never challenged the initial Buenos Aires position of the “historic *prelación* [precedence] of the nation over the provinces” (p. 128).

It was the generation of the positivist *Nueva Escuela Histórica*, spearheaded by Ricardo Levêne and Emilio Ravignani, that broke with the essayistic tradition of earlier Argentine history writing and adopted rigorous evidentiary and methodological standards. Chiaramonte demonstrates how these historians already display most of the traits and interpretive lines later claimed for political purposes by the revisionists after 1930: the indictment of the Buenos Aires historians for their “antinational liberalism” and unfair condemnation of Juan Manuel de Rosas and other early independence caudillos, the result of either family feuds or intentional twisting of the historical record for political purposes (p. 146). In this argument, the positivist school was aided by some of the early provincial historians, who stressed that before 1850 the provinces, not the nation, defined citizenship and sovereignty.

But while the *Nueva Escuela Histórica*’s revisionism exalted the constitutional process started in 1853 for recognizing the merits of all the antagonistic forces during the preceding decades, the new post-1930 political revisionism demonized that process as nefarious for the Argentine nation. This new revisionism, supported first by the thought of Charles Maurras and Italian fascism and later by left-wing populism, instead deified the erstwhile outcast Rosas as the advocate of a different, more socially just Argentine nation before 1852.

Chiaramonte follows this history of Argentine revisionism with an important essay about constitutional thought in the transition from colony to independence. As the author has expressed previously, he believes that recent historiography has over-emphasized the concepts of liberalism and republicanism as the bases of early Latin American constitutionalism. Instead, Chiaramonte stresses that, as in Anglo-America, many revolutionaries in Latin America—although not all—clamored for the return of their “ancient constitution,” a loose concept of rights and processes that they wished to combine with some new ideas—such as representation—to establish their republican constitutional order. As a result, what has mostly been portrayed as a period of post-independence chaos characterized by caudillismo and the frequent failure of liberal constitutionalism represents for Chiaramonte a “coherent political and intellectual universe, founded upon a group of doctrines many of which derived from natural and international law” (p. 183). This ancient, unwritten constitution was based on the pact between the Spanish crown and the early colonists and indigenous groups. For this type of ancient constitutionalism, notions of pacts and sovereignty would remain more important, even after independence, than notions of rights. Chiaramonte demonstrates the profound impact of natural law well beyond independence by pointing to the continued reliance on Spanish law, the training of political and ecclesiastic elites in the Río de la Plata region in the natural law tradition well into the 1850s, and the fact that the “extraordinary powers” granted to Rosas and other caudillos did not represent their extraconstitutional rule but rather the application of the ancient, natural law concept of legal dictatorship in situations of emergency for the commonwealth (pp. 221–31). Chiaramonte summarizes his approach as seeking to deepen constitutional history into a history of collective beliefs “attentive to the old norms or models that conditioned the social and political life of an epoch” (p. 231).

While this is an admirable approach, these essays cannot fully deliver on their enormously ambitious promise. Beyond the exegesis of texts and their conceptual lineages, we would need to learn more about the ideas and practices of broader and diverse social groups to accept that they constituted “collective beliefs.” Moreover, while Chiaramonte acknowledges that not every political figure during the early post-independence decades in the Río de la Plata or elsewhere in Latin America shared that insistence on an ancient constitution, his language at times seems to essentialize this position. Still more helpful to grasping the complexity of postindependence Latin American political cultures remains the notion that they constituted extraordinary laboratories of constitutions, imaginaries, notions of citizenship and sovereignty, and rights and obligations in which an unusually broad range of ideas, practices, and legal and political concepts could be discussed.

It is Chiaramonte’s merit, together with a growing number of historians, to have rejected the idea that liberalism and perhaps even republicanism were automatically victorious in Latin America’s postindependence political cultures, a stance closely connected to his convincing portrayal of revisionism in Argentine history.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088656

Colonial Period

Insignia of Rank in the Nahua World: From the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century. By JUSTYNA OLKO. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014. Figures. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxii, 492 pp. Cloth, \$80.00.

Justyna Olko, an associate professor of Artes Liberales at the University of Warsaw, has written the definitive work on dress, jewelry, and all other accompanying symbols of rank in the late pre-Hispanic and early colonial Nahua eras. Building upon her earlier book, *Turquoise Diadems and Staffs of Office: Elite Costume and Insignia of Power in Aztec and Early Colonial Mexico* (2005), she examines a wide array of insignia of rank, by which she means “all components of elite dress and certain portable items . . . such as seats, mats, staffs, and weapons” (p. 2). Olko covers a lengthy period of time and a broad swath of central Mexico that included multiple ethnic and linguistic groups (beyond those who spoke Nahuatl) but that roughly coincided with the Triple Alliance or Aztec empire.

Analyzing an exhaustive array of sources that moves beyond those used by earlier scholars working on themes of Nahua clothing and accoutrements of rank, including Eduard Seler, Patricia Anawalt, and Carmen Aguilera, Olko uses textual, pictorial, and material evidence, with a heavy emphasis on Nahuatl-language codices from all over the region studied, some of these being relatively unknown. Her assembling and analyzing of such a vast array of sources is impressive. The interpretations that arise out of Olko’s painstaking reconstruction of the pre- and postconquest elite apparel and descriptions and images of rank, featured in the second and third chapters of the book, are then

developed into arguments about the purposes to which costuming was put and the meanings attached to the vast array of insignia used by rulers, nobles, soldiers, and bureaucratic functionaries, covered in the fourth and fifth chapters.

Among the most significant arguments and historiographical contributions that Olko makes are the following. First, she shows that Mexica regal insignia have a deep connection to symbols of power dating back not just to Tula and the Tolteca but to Teotihuacan and the Classic period Maya. Second, she convincingly demonstrates varieties of dynastic ornamentation among the rulerships of a variety of places, showing how the rulers of Texcoco and the ruling houses of Tlaxcala sought to differentiate their sources and images of power from those of the Mexica. An important way that these dynasties did this was by stressing their Chichimeca origins, a third major point. Scholars typically explain the ethnic and cultural history of the late Postclassic period in central Mexico as the result of the coming together of remnant Tolteca peoples and less sophisticated hunting-and-gathering migrants, Chichimeca, from the northern reaches of Mesoamerica, whom later Postclassic Nahua groups disparaged. But Olko demonstrates that visual imagery associated with Chichimeca identity could indicate the highest levels of prestige. This phenomenon is represented especially in Texcoco- and Tlaxcala-associated codices and suggests that the binary opposition that ethnohistorians draw between civilized and uncivilized, sedentary and nomad—also questioned by earlier scholars such as Rudolph Van Zantwijk and Nigel Davies—is too simplistic and does not fully capture how Nahuas thought about ethnic identity, power, and prestige.

A fourth point that Olko emphasizes is that while it is difficult to reconstruct local iconographic traditions beyond those of Texcoco and Tlaxcala for representing rank given the increasing influence of Mexica styles as the Triple Alliance domain of economic and political influence spread, it is indeed possible to find such localized visual representations. These emanate especially from areas east and south of Tenochtitlan, where political imagery illustrates forms of sociopolitical organization within the *altepetl* (kingdoms) of that area that differ from Tenochtitlan and regions to the west. Because evidence of the persistence of local repertoires of insignia of rank often comes from manuscripts produced in the colonial period, the fifth of Olko's arguments about the persistence of such symbolism into the colonial era finds strong support. Emblems of rulership, dynastic identity, and even military achievement continued to appear in visual representations of colonial officials and to be used in celebrations such as viceroys' entries or oaths to the king.

The book concludes with a brief chapter summarizing the author's main arguments, focusing particularly on the political implications of the construction and uses of costume imagery. It will remain for other scholars to tease out the economic implications of the amounts and types of production as well as trade and tribute patterns required to produce, transport, and distribute this vast array of goods. However, the actual ending to the book is its appendix, the "Dictionary of Insignia and Accouterments," which provides names of all items discussed, a brief description of each item's use, and a quotation about the item from a primary source. At once a reference work and analytical study, Olko's book as a whole could only be useful in highly specialized classes covering

Mesoamerican themes, particularly those relating to Nahua peoples and cultures. But it will serve as the standard work on items and imagery of rank and nobility for decades to come, and both the author and the University Press of Colorado deserve plaudits for its publication.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088668

Maya Ideologies of the Sacred: The Transfiguration of Space in Colonial Yucatan. By AMARA SOLARI. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013. Photographs. Plates. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 212 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

Amara Solari focuses on space as a critical dimension of negotiation and transformation in colonial Yucatan. She addresses the ways in which pre-Columbian Maya spaces became part of Christian ritual space but also explores the influence that Maya concepts of space and sacredness exerted on Franciscan strategies and Spanish administrative aims. Through early colonial Maya documents and information on construction of early churches and monasteries at Maya sites, particularly Itzmal, she succeeds in her goal of expanding awareness of how Maya actions contributed to the character of the post-Columbian landscape of Yucatan, both sacred and profane.

Space, transfiguration, and Maya cultural production tie the volume together, but each chapter is distinctive. The first two chapters discuss the Franciscan strategy of constructing churches in Maya sacred precincts and the policy of concentrating people in towns reconfigured to European grid patterns. Although this seems to underscore the dominance of Iberian culture, Solari shows how pre-Columbian ritual circumambulation lived on in Christian processions, which, like earlier Maya counterparts, involved movement through ritual space and interaction with effigies and painted scenes. Chapter 3 turns to visual sources, mainly from the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, to argue that the Maya conceived of the landscape as animate and linked to world creation. Her arguments also support the idea that early Maya maps or schema represented not strict spatial layouts but metaphorical relationships among political locales.

Chapter 4 discusses the relationship between land and history. The source is the Hunac Ceel epic in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, which covers ninth- and thirteenth-century Itza lineage events. The Chumayel narrator treats Yucatan as unpopulated prior to Itza arrival and attributes to the Itza the naming of towns purportedly established as they moved through northern Yucatan. Solari describes the Itza's roughly circular counterclockwise route and cites other evidence to support the idea that the counterclockwise direction was the standard for Maya recollection of creative and foundational acts. Space and not time is the ordering principle. In addition, "the atemporal Maya chronology . . . focused on the spatial vacancy of the peninsula's geographic expanse provided legitimization for the Itza" (p. 89). Thus the narrative justifies Itza dominance as the story becomes a tale of creation.

Chapter 5 turns to early colonial Maya maps. Solari argues that the Maya used traditional spatial ideologies (such as the maps' circular format) to position themselves

more powerfully in emerging colonial society. She interprets depictions of towns as representing “geographical space and the relationships between places as one journeys through them” (p. 110). It is also worth noting that Maya economic and political relationships did not fit the Spanish territorial model and changed as tribute streams changed; as I note in *Maya Christians and Their Churches in Sixteenth-Century Belize*, wealth accumulated through appropriation of resources rather than addition of territory per se. Hence Maya “boundaries” were not the lines on the ground visualized by Spanish authorities. This adds to rather than detracts from Solari’s arguments but does mean that the schema behind the maps derived from more than cosmology or space as the embodied experience of the viewer; it reflected the Xiu or Cocom vision of power relationships.

Chapter 6 discusses the effect of spatial concepts in shaping conversion practices. Through a narrative of Itzmal’s early colonial ritual life, Solari shows how pre-Columbian and colonial traditions were linked. Churches built on pre-Columbian platforms provided continuity in sacred space, as Christian procession rituals recalled Maya movement through ritual space with attendant visual stimuli. Chapter 7 examines the seventeenth-century transformation of indigenous understandings of sacred landscape. In the 1600s, the statue of the Virgin that resided at Itzmal was occasionally moved to places experiencing trauma or stress, and Solari sees this as marking a change from native healing rituals involving individuals’ travel to specific loci. This is an interesting idea that deserves further consideration, but we cannot be certain that pre-Columbian rituals did not involve movement of sacred objects from place to place. Effigies of deities among the Maya and the Christians were not venerated per se but served to create sacred space. Thus an object with power to sacralize space also bridges pre-Columbian and Christian thought.

Solari’s volume fits into contemporary debates on a number of levels. It adds to the literature on the conquest experience by exploring and emphasizing Maya, rather than Spanish, contributions to culture and practices during the colonial transition. Although Maya conceptualization of space is a unifying theme, the chapters can be read as separate units. The black-and-white illustrations are clear and carefully executed, and I particularly appreciated the supplementary color photographs. Solari’s ideas strengthen the arguments of those who perceive the Yucatec Maya as proactive and interactive, rather than reactive, in the construction of post-Columbian culture. I recommend the book to fellow archaeologists but also to ethnohistorians, historians, historical geographers, art historians, and indeed anyone interested in Maya history.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088680

Sin and Confession in Colonial Peru: Spanish-Quechua Penitential Texts, 1560–1650. By REGINA HARRISON. Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014. Figures. Table. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 310 pp. Cloth, \$60.00.

The author presents the Catholic doctrine of confession, restitution, and sin during the conquest of America and Peru, as well as changes made to this doctrine among

intellectuals and in the Peruvian church. First she defines "sin (*bucha*) and flesh (*aycha*)," and she follows this with three chapters, each centered on a group of Andean words with meanings important for church teaching on sins: *buchallicu-* (to sin, fornicate) and *buauça-* (to have "improper" sex, specifically between men); *ranti-* (to exchange or substitute), *catu-* (to exchange goods in a market), and *manu-* (debt, to be in debt); and *llamca-* (to work), *mit'a-* (to work by shifts), and *mink'a-* (to work for someone). Her conclusion takes up a new topic and studies wills as a kind of written confession.

The author starts each chapter with a description of how Catholic doctrines were shaped before and then during the conquest of America. A detailed analysis of ecclesiastical opinions and practice in reference to Andean New Christians follows each description. Conscious that each idea needed to be expressed in an Andean language, she chose Spanish-Quechua penitential texts (1560–1650), comparing Spanish declarations with Quechua translations. Thus she takes up new subjects of study, in search of the following answers: Was there a Quechua word that could be used to express the Spanish idea? What was the Quechua word preferred by the church authorities and translators, and why? How did the church's use of the word change the meaning of the Quechua word, nominal phrases, or even the entire sentence? All along she uses her very ample knowledge of Andean anthropology and history. She uses the same knowledge to fill in for the research that the linguists and historians alike have not done on colonial Quechua.

She discovers how the church expressed its doctrines in Quechua in everyday teaching and practice. In this way she contributes to the developments started by other researchers such as Alan Durston (a linguist), Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs (a historian), and Manuel Marzal (an anthropologist) whose research explains why by 1650, the Peruvian church decided that all Peruvian Indians should be considered Christians. The author's next goal, to reconstruct how the church doctrines expressed in Quechua were understood by Quechua Christians, is much more difficult to achieve. She used the accessible sources: texts written by Indians in Quechua (very few) and in Spanish (also not so many) and even very biased documents such as judicial proceedings against idolaters. Her research helps us to understand somewhat the Indian elite's thinking but not general convictions, always modified by local tradition.

Her investigation suffers from the fact that historians and linguists have not built models of Andean and Inca religion, ethics, and understandings of economy. Moreover, we have no model of the world implied by Quechua grammar and vocabulary in colonial times. These models are necessary as a basis for discussion and revision of ideas. A model integrating local and imperial religion under Inca rule is necessary to understand how Quechua speakers understood what the Spaniards told them about the Spanish religion and world. A model of Andean ethics is necessary for studying how Quechua speakers understood church teachings on sin and redemption. Understanding Quechua speakers' image of the world is necessary for grasping the evolution of the meanings imposed by the church on Quechua words and their reinterpretation by users. A model of Quechua thinking about economy is equally important because the simplicity of Spanish agriculture in comparison to the multicyclical agriculture of the Andes influences our understanding of how a market could work in sixteenth-century Peru. The researcher is

not guilty of negligence. She uses what is known—for example, that the Indians did not consider thinking of something as a sin. Her investigation obliges us to research new problems and answer new questions. For instance, the author investigated the Quechua word for “confessor,” *ichuri*, which derived from counting *ichu* straws to check the penitent’s truthfulness, and explained why the clergy did not use the word. But the difference between Andean confession and Catholic Andean confession has not been investigated, since we do not know the Andean ethics of the time or Andean sins. Thus the book opens a new chapter in serious investigation on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century changes in Quechua religion, ethics, and language, to highlight its most important contribution.

Yet despite these merits, the book contains some flaws. Its Quechua orthography is often incorrect, quotes contain errors, and many translations are simply wrong. For example, she translates *huaça* as “to have improper sex.” Yet in doing so, she mixes two words, *huauça* and *huaça*. *Huauça* referred to sex between males, perhaps also between females. *Huaça* means “back”; as a verb, it refers to acts done secretly. Sex between females is *yanaza-*. Nonetheless, the mistakes in Quechua do not influence her analysis, which stays valid, precious, and a point of departure for new research. All researchers of religion, European visions of local people, local elites, language contact, and economy in fifteenth- to seventeenth-century Inca and colonial Peru should read the book.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088692

The Power of Huacas: Change and Resistance in the Andean World of Colonial Peru.

By CLAUDIA BROSSEDER. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014. Photographs. Plates. Maps. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xi, 456 pp. Cloth, \$65.00.

Claudia Brosseder's monograph is an important addition to the growing literature on Andean religions. Like Pierre Duviols, Manuel Marzal, Ana Sánchez, Sabine MacCormack, Nicholas Griffiths, Kenneth Mills, Mario Polia Meconi, Laura Larco, and others, Brosseder reviews and distills the information in records from idolatry proceedings. In doing so, she covers such familiar themes as mountain worship, the Andean conception of illness, the influence of *conopas* (usually, powerful stone figurines) on fertility, and love magic. She analyzes sometimes-covert Andean rituals and practices within the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Lima, and the Andean religious specialists' interaction with Jesuits also figures prominently. Her central focus is on holy objects, called *huacas*, and the religious specialists' commemoration of these.

New insights are brought to such topics as birds as messengers, which is linked to Brosseder's narrative on the discourse of embodiment, representation, and transformation; the importance of stone (a topic that overlaps with that of Carolyn Dean's recent *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* [2010]); the significance of color, especially of white; the use and ceremonial meaning of toads; the introduction of sympathetic magic and the concept of *maleficio* (evil sorcery); and the growing importance of the native

knowledge of curing herbs. She also distinguishes between creole Catholic, Andean Christian, and Andean religious beliefs and practices, showing how believers of each interacted and influenced each other. Her study, which covers the entire colonial era, finds that motives behind religious persecution shifted from preoccupation with saving native souls to demonic influences and then to persecution tied to the struggle to advance social harmony in the eighteenth century. But her real innovation is to submerge all these details on Andean religions, their practitioners, and the European, creole, and Jesuit reactions to them into the context of the advance of Enlightenment ideas as well as the wider discourse on magic. Finally, her broad synthesis notes the importance of location, demonstrating the survival of Andean practices in distant, peripheral spaces.

Shortcomings are few. Missing from this long (271 pages of text with a 66-page bibliography), meticulously documented (1,200 footnotes) treatise is a lengthier, more nuanced discussion of ancestor worship and its role in the quotidian life of lineages (*ayllus*). Some readers may also object to her frequent references to ethnography and archaeological interpretations of the Chavín, Cupisinique, Tiwanaku, Moche, Paracas, Wari, and Nazca cultures to authorize her statements. In addition, her definition of the key concept of huaca itself seems at times too broad, encompassing at one point even the wind.

Despite these considerations, this book remains a major contribution with a profundity rarely found in the scholarly literature on the topic. It supersedes in its conceptualization, references, and scope all other such studies on the topic today. Specialists will find the text and footnotes must reads. Most students, however, will find the long text, detail, and several untranslated quotations difficult material to digest.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088704

Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas. By JEANETTE FAVROT PETERSON. Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014. Photographs. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 332 pp. Cloth, \$60.00.

Books concerning the Virgin of Guadalupe generally tend to fall into several categories. There are pious literature for Catholic devotees written in an apologetic vein, polemical gibes by evangelicals and Pentecostals for proselytizing purposes, simplistic expositions of a supposed syncretism between the Virgin Mary and some Aztec goddess, scrutiny of the foundational texts to prove or disprove the historicity of apparitions and personages for nationalistic purposes, metahistorical admiration of Guadalupe as a feminist symbol of racial and gender liberation, and scholarly works that seek to contextualize and understand the Guadalupe phenomenon through the use of a variety of academic disciplines. Jeanette Peterson's handsome and hefty book falls squarely into the last category. The author's overarching question is what a rigorous application of the discipline of art history can reveal about the Guadalupe images and their multiple meanings for multiple audiences. Her magisterial work spans the Middle Ages and the colonial period.

Like other serious scholars, Peterson begins with the originating twelfth-century Guadalupe sculpture in the Hieronymite monastery of Extremadura, Spain, and its place among medieval dark-skinned Madonnas. But instead of proceeding immediately to the hill of Tepeyac in New Spain, Peterson discusses the sacrality of blackness and traces the Extremadura Virgin's highly orchestrated travels in South America via Hieronymite friar Diego de Ocaña. The reception and quasi-theatrical uses of the dark image among Andean converts offers a frame for understanding European icons in non-European contexts, and it prepares the reader for a "subjectivity of seeing" the renowned Mexican image.

Peterson then turns her focus to what she calls the "Tepeyac Sphere," both the hill where the apparition to Juan Diego supposedly occurred and its surrounding topography and meanings for indigenes and colonizers (pp. 71–79). Here she debunks the myth of the existence of an Aztec goddess named Tonantzin whom the Virgin Mary supposedly replaced, while at the same time emphasizing the "power of the place" and other memories associated with Tepeyac overlooked by historians. There follows a close reading of the *tilma* and its iconographic precedents in Assumption and Immaculate Conception imagery. Peterson accepts as a given that the image was painted by human hands (most likely those of the native artist Marcos Cipac de Aquino) using a combination of materials, and on this matter she refers the reader both to the colonial chronicles and to the scientific examination of the artifact permitted by the Catholic Church in 1982.

When analyzing the Guadalupe foundational narratives, Peterson sees them as evolving texts. In their earliest manifestation, the emphasis is on the miracles that occurred in the presence of the icon and on the propagation of those miracles via prints. Given that the nascent cult to Guadalupe was being promulgated by the Dominican archbishop of Mexico against the wishes of the Franciscans, one might have preferred more examination here of inter-Mendicant rivalries in propelling the devotion forward. This leads to the next phase of the Guadalupe story, that of an image not made by human hands (known as *acheiropoieton*) and of the gaze of the religious devotee. Peterson rightly places Guadalupe within the long medieval tradition of miraculously made icons such as the Veil of Veronica. But her most novel contribution is the inclusion of a discussion of early modern optics and colonial attempts to explain the impression of the image on the *tilma* by the science of shadows and refracted light. The role of eighteenth-century artist-experts like Miguel Cabrera, with their pseudoscientific analysis of the artifact, shows that Guadalupe must also be considered within the economics of late colonial art production and the polemics of church and state.

A shift occurs with chapter 8 to what might be called the aftermath and implications of the Guadalupe phenomenon. Peterson asks how native peoples, "the civilized and the savage," were being portrayed in the story and in its earliest artistic representations (pp. 203–26). Her brilliant insight highlights that the indigenous theatrical performances surrounding Guadalupe, recorded in auxiliary paintings at the shrine, included scenes of ritualized warfare that may have acted subversively to challenge colonial authority—a portent of things to come. The book concludes on the eve of the Mexican independence

movement with new material about Guadalupe's political importance for the viceroys and then with an intriguing discussion of how the popular Mexican icon returned to the land of the Extremadura Guadalupe and "reconquered" the mother country (pp. 259–74).

Visualizing Guadalupe is the most scholarly and comprehensive study of the topic to date, and one against which all future research will be judged. Its "thick description" (to use the term of anthropologist Clifford Geertz) will make it a classic text for scholars and students on colonial religious, social, and visual history. My one criticism is that the density of historical data sometimes overwhelms the narrative; I would also fault the University of Texas Press editors for reducing several key images to a size that renders them practically unreadable. That being said, the book is a great achievement by a major scholar who has digested the primary and secondary material and who has looked with a microscopic eye on the most important source material of all: the artistic images of the Virgin(s) of Guadalupe.

JAIME LARA, Arizona State University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088716

Negociando la obediencia: Gestión y reforma de los virreinatos americanos en tiempos del conde-duque de Olivares (1621–1643). By ARRIGO AMADORI. Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas / Universidad de Sevilla / Diputación de Sevilla, 2013. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 509 pp. Paper, €22.00.

Fruit of his doctoral thesis, Arrigo Amadori's study examines the conflict between traditional organs of justice and government and the increasingly autonomous advance of the crown led by the Count-Duke of Olivares during the 1620s and 1630s. The first three chapters explore the degree to which Olivares succeeded in imposing on the Council of the Indies criteria and practices of authority, which the author judges based on notions of efficacy, obedience, and "capillarity." Amadori also considers the concept of the monarch's "grace" or capacity for patronage, which lent consistency to relations at court in Madrid, Lima, and Mexico. In the last two chapters, Amadori examines two examples from the New World regarding the negotiating capacity of local power groups. Amadori based his research on sources at the Archivo General de Indias: mostly consultations to the Council of the Indies, which he subjects to statistical analysis, but also the decrees on government, grace, and ministers' titles, dossiers related to reforms, and the numerous books that record royal orders.

Chapter 1 presents the actors at the Madrid court and outlines the terms of the problem to be examined. Inertia and tradition frustrated the count-duke's attempts at reform. He soon acknowledged that the government and administration of councils and ministers were inseparable from a system based on exchange, favors, and services. He thus had no choice but to manipulate the council's ministers. The author laments the lack of research probing the council's informal mechanisms and their manipulation. While this is somewhat true, such research is not wholly absent, since various studies exist on the Council of the Indies and its informal means of influence.

Amadori goes on in chapter 2 to explain how Olivares strove to catalyze the Council of the Indies, concentrating in that body the most urgent matters and even lightening its juridical caseload. The author elucidates the coercive measures applied in cases of noncompliance with royal orders. Paradoxically, this led to an unusual elaboration of bodies of legislation and more detailed norms. This was perhaps the most important phase of the Council of the Indies' history in terms of legislative production, government systematization, and territorial recognition. But it was also necessary to erect new offices, such as the Secretaría del Despacho, to link the work of the chancellor of the Indies to that of Olivares and to thus assure the negotiating capacity of the presidents of the Council of the Indies at court. For these reasons, Amadori stresses capillarity as arising from the confluence of multiple, coordinated advisory entities that together produced a common administrative space.

Chapter 3 analyzes Olivares's capacity for patronage in relation to the government of the Indies. Since 1623, the council had been charged with reporting the salaries paid and favors dispensed in the New World and Spain in the previous half century. This was meant to increase individuals' expectations regarding the king's grace and to stress the importance of personal merit to the authorities who dispensed such patronage. This exaltation of merits and services is related to the theme of awarding subjects and lineages native to America, to which the author devotes considerable space and associates with fiscal policy. This, in turn, led to new equilibriums between regional and central powers. Thus, local elites became guarantors of the monarchy's unity and functionality.

Therefore, as Amadori lays out in chapter 4, it is in the fiscal terrain where we most clearly perceive the intersections among political life in the Indies, the dynamics of empire, and the consensus between central power and local areas. Amadori reviews the elements of Philip IV's fiscal policy in relation to the American possessions. However, a crown increasingly pressed for resources that nevertheless pardoned fraud lost the ability to impose more stringent reforms. Pacts thus emerged as central to fiscal control over transatlantic trade and constituted the prelude to the crown's dependence on Lima's mercantile corporation in the second half of the seventeenth century. In my view, this book's most original contribution is its analysis of the actions, reactions, and attitudes of the Council of the Indies in the face of the fiscal package known as the *arbitrios de 1631*, designed for the Viceroyalty of Peru; it was this measure that allowed the council to soften the aggressive tone adopted by Olivares and to make it more palatable to Spain's American vassals.

Also, the book recognizes the performance of the viceroy Count of Chinchón, charged with applying the new fiscal policy in Peru. The resistance of local power groups forced the viceroy to seek common ground between Madrid's aspirations and Lima's milieu. If this viceroy established awards or gratifications as means of imposing the new fiscal policy, in New Spain under the Marquis of Cadereyta the viceroys' power was more heavily mediated by personages and corporations. Amadori demonstrates how resistance to the new fiscal policy delineated the juridical and political status of the West Indies in the broader concert of the Catholic monarchy.

While the crown's ability to introduce reforms affecting local power groups was severely constrained, revenue for the royal treasury in Lima, as this study explains,

increased moderately and gradually from 1625 to 1655. Indeed, this was the period in which silver achieved its maximum level of production in Peru. However, the author reiterates that maintaining the income for the royal treasury in Lima while increasing remittances to the crown depended on managing power relations with the local elite. For this reason, Amadori argues that it was not long before the Indies began to reach exhaustion in the face of this fiscal onslaught, the most severe in the century.

The final chapter examines the military defense of the Indies, in which, Amadori observes, Olivares exercised the greatest influence. The monarchy's principal enemy, the Dutch, took advantage of the prostration of the 1640s to strengthen their presence in the New World. Hence, this chapter is structured around the defense of the Viceroyalty of Peru by the Armada del Mar del Sur and the organization of the Armada de Barlovento in New Spain, two high priorities for Olivares. As earlier, Amadori analyzes the fiscal pressures from Madrid, the role of the viceroys as conciliators between the court and important local groups, and the latter's insistence upon receiving a much larger share of power for supporting the crown. He concludes that both the defense of the Indies and the transatlantic nexus increasingly depended on the participation of commercial corporations in both viceroyalties.

I concur with the author's main conclusion: we are obliged to conduct readings ever more dynamic and complex of what has so simplistically been called colonial policy. This is demanded by the historiographical renewal of recent years, of which this book is a significant product.

ÓSCAR MAZÍN, El Colegio de México

doi 10.1215/00182168-3088728

Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Edited by LEE M. PANICH and TSIM D. SCHNEIDER. Archaeology of Colonialism in Native North America. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014. Photographs. Maps. Illustrations. Figures. Tables. Bibliography. Index. 256 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

This stellar collection of essays turns the old Boltonian concept of the Spanish borderlands on its head by examining Spanish colonial missions—those quintessential Boltonian institutions of civilization on the frontier—from the perspectives of native societies themselves. As the editors explain in their introduction, “The overarching goal of this volume is to highlight the agency of Native people living in the Spanish Borderlands of North America, where missions were the primary institution of colonization” (p. 7). They argue that “missions were more than colonial outposts—they were also indigenous places” embedded in indigenous landscapes “that had existing tensions, alliances, and systems of belief” (p. 7).

Those borderlands extended from coastal Florida and Georgia to Alta California. Interestingly, six of the nine case studies focus on the Atlantic and Pacific margins (three chapters on each), while only three explore the enormous continent in between. This

skewed geographical distribution reflects the dynamic influence of archaeologists Kathleen Deagan, David Hurst Thomas, and Kent Lightfoot, whose long-term projects in Florida, Georgia, and California have produced a generation of superb young scholars whose work is showcased in this volume.

Part 1, “Power, Politics, and Belief,” probes the indigenous contexts in which missions were accepted or rejected. In their essay on “the Guale uprising of 1597,” Elliot Blair and David Hurst Thomas contend that the “rebellion was neither anti-Spanish nor even anti-Catholic, and it never aimed to expel the Spanish from Florida” (p. 27). On the contrary, it reflected factional conflict among native elites for access to Spanish exchange networks. In “Missionization, Negotiation, and Belief,” Willet Boyer argues that the Acuera kingdom of Florida “openly maintained a system of ‘parallel’ religious authorities” including both traditional shamans and Franciscan friars during more than 40 years of missionization (p. 55). In “Missions Untenable,” Paul Marceaux and Mariah Wade conclude that the Hasinai Caddo in East Texas barely tolerated and ultimately rejected Spanish missions because they were unwilling to congregate in mission communities. As the authors argue, “The Hasinai may have come to the missions to trade and receive gifts, but the traditional dispersed and self-sustaining settlement pattern prevailed” (p. 74).

Part 2, “External Connections,” examines how native neophytes continued to interact with indigenous landscapes surrounding their missions. In “Who Were the Guale?,” Christopher Moore and Richard Jefferies argue that changes in Guale ceramics, settlement patterns, and foodways at Mission San Joseph de Sapala, on Sapelo Island off the Georgia coast, were in response to native influences, not Spanish introductions. In “‘Countless Heathens,’ ” Tamra Walter and Thomas Hester investigate “the motivations that both attracted and repelled” hunter-gatherers in South Texas to the Gateway Missions of San Juan Bautista and San Bernardo (p. 94). Rubén Mendoza hypothesizes in “Indigenous Landscapes” that Alta California natives were “Mexicanized” rather than “Hispanicized,” adopting “Mesoamerican lifeways predominantly dependent on the cultivation and processing of maize” (p. 120).

Part 3, “Outside the Mission Walls,” focuses on mission hinterlands and areas outside mission control. In “Depriving God and the King of the Means of Charity,” Glenn Farris analyzes food procurement at Mission La Purísima Concepción and the 49 native villages associated with it in Alta California. Mission agricultural production had to be supplemented by native wild food sources, which became increasingly threatened by Spanish ranches as huge cattle herds decimated native grasses. In “Points of Refuge in the South Central California Colonial Hinterlands,” Julienne Bernard, David Robinson, and Fraser Sturt investigate three refuge sites where Chumash fleeing Alta California missions resided. In “Toward a Historical Ecology of the Mission in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico,” Mark Lycett explores the production of space à la Henri Lefebvre in seventeenth-century New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Lycett’s chapter is the most theoretically sophisticated in the volume, providing a framework for understanding the “radical reorientation of space, society, and nature and their relations to one another” among Pueblo peoples in New Mexican missions (p. 187).

Kent Lightfoot concludes the volume by discussing its three major themes: “Native–colonial negotiations, Native political economies, and indigenous landscapes”

(p. 194). All three confront the Eurocentric biases that have limited earlier mission studies, especially the assumption that “missionaries always maintained dominant power relations in their dealings with indigenous populations” (p. 194). Most missions, at least at first, were embedded in preexisting indigenous landscapes with indigenous political economies. Lightfoot argues that missions were both colonial and native places where “a series of negotiations . . . took place between diverse groups and individuals who had their own vested interests, beliefs, and cultural practices” (p. 205).

I have only one caveat. The emphasis upon “negotiation” and moving beyond “approaches that limit Native agency to active or passive resistance to the mission system” (p. 21) is welcome as long as it does not obscure the imbalances of power that pervaded the lives of many native peoples in the Spanish empire, including the borderlands. Negotiations were often asymmetrical. Old World epidemic diseases and Spanish encroachment transformed many missions into Hispanic rather than indigenous communities. The suppression of native religion, the coercion of native labor, and the abuse of native women were profoundly traumatic processes even when, as in the case of the Hopi Indians, Spaniards and missionaries were driven from their communities. “Negotiation” and “resilience” must never become tropes that blind us to that legacy.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088740

The Disappearing Mestizo: Configuring Difference in the Colonial New Kingdom of Granada. By JOANNE RAPPAPORT. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. Map. Figures. Appendix. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 352 pp. Paper, \$25.95.

Is *casta* still “good to think”? In her latest book, Joanne Rappaport contends that the prevailing interpretive “straitjacket of caste” has allowed anachronistic racial valences to creep into historical analysis while also leading scholars to discount other critical markers of differentiation and status (p. 225). Examining the lives of people of mixed descent in the New Kingdom of Granada and the challenges that authorities and others faced when attempting to classify them, Rappaport identifies an array of elements often bundled in the concept of *calidad*—including gender, occupation, honor, religion, and birth—that were key to defining status and identity. Rappaport treats *casta* nomenclature such as mestizo as the outcome of highly variable processes of identification rather than the signifiers of discrete and well-defined demographic subsets. By doing so, she sets out to explore how and when otherwise unmarked individuals came to be classified in those terms. The “disappearing mestizo” of the book’s title thus refers to the idea that there are no mestizos or a single group of mestizos out there to be counted, uncovered, or typologized but rather only a category that was perpetually filled (and emptied out), often as subjects fell under the classificatory gaze of the state or church. Rappaport’s revisionist study is deeply engaged with current scholarship and is especially interested in targeting much of the literature on New Spain, where a lion’s share of work on *casta* has focused. She questions, for example, the relevance for Nueva Granada of the familiar thesis that a

socially pervasive caste system coalesced in the midcolonial period in Mexico only to harden into an approximate socioracial schema by the end of the eighteenth century.

Drawing from archival and manuscript sources, Rappaport traces how mestizos were made and unmade across central Colombia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Documentation is sparse, so Rappaport employs what she calls an “ethnographic history” based on thick description and a careful reconstruction of individual life narratives (p. 227). Chapter 1 reconstructs three such cases from sixteenth-century Santafé that seemingly concern racial passing, a familiar trope in older, instrumentalist studies of race or caste in Latin American history. Rather than dissimulation, however, Rappaport sees subjects testing, performing, and navigating the emerging boundaries that were only beginning to define categories like mestizo. She also finds that categorization hinged more on questions of lineage (expressed through religion, nobility, and rank) than phenotype. Chapter 2 shifts to the hinterlands of Santafé and Tunja and the social networks that crisscrossed indigenous, mestizo, and mulatto categories. Rappaport finds a less-well-integrated social environment than what existed in urban working-class neighborhoods but that *mestizaje* was still just one factor that informed the lives of rural denizens (along with occupation, marginality, residence, and various forms of sociability).

The following two chapters are the book’s strongest. Chapter 3 explores the lives of urban social climbers, another emblematic figure in earlier studies. Rappaport highlights the gendered variability that afforded greater opportunities for privileged mestizas than for mestizos to live “unmarked” lives and become the progenitors of Spanish lineages through marriage (p. 10). Their male counterparts, in contrast, faced both barriers to prestigious careers and social conventions that denied biracial men the ability to establish their own pure lineages. The constraints that such liminal men confronted are illustrated brilliantly through the example of the *regidor* Diego García Zorro, who for years juggled precariously an elite public persona with a private life spent among Santafé’s plebeians. Chapter 4 focuses on two mestizos who took the opposite tack, defending their status as caciques by highlighting rather than subsuming their cultural hybridity. Their “noble hybridity” (p. 134) was marked by literacy, bilingualism, and Christianity, among other factors.

The final two chapters constitute a departure from the rest of the book. Chapter 5 downplays the ethnographic approach to explore the “narrative portraits” (p. 179) that officials in Spain and the Nuevo Reino produced for court cases, travel petitions, and colonial censuses in order to underscore how the determination of physiognomy and *calidad* were mutually constitutive but ultimately parallel classificatory processes. That European conceptual frameworks could hardly function in a colonial context marked by rapid intermixture will not surprise, but the chapter’s attempt to shift attention away from exceptional case studies of disputed ancestry to the world of mundane acts of classification is refreshing. Less successful is the final chapter’s transition to the eighteenth century, based mostly on a close reading of secondary sources, and Rappaport’s somewhat suppositional challenge to those who would apply the gradual solidification of *casta* in late colonial Mexico, noted above, to a broader imperial level.

Some may hesitate to accept the book's most ambitious claims based on its admittedly small but expertly reconstructed set of vignettes. This well-crafted book, however, raises a host of critical conceptual and methodological matters that merit the attention of all scholars of identity and difference in early Spanish America.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088752

Pueblo Indians and Spanish Colonial Authority in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico.

By TRACY L. BROWN. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013. Photographs.

Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. viii, 237 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

Tracy Brown's book is more ambitious than its title would have us believe. Properly speaking, its general subject is power as exercised by Europeans and Indians, both men and women, from precontact times through the end of the colonial period. It is true that the documentation is far more abundant for the eighteenth century than for the earlier period: many records were destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. But Brown makes use of the archaeological record and interrogates the sources available for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to undertake a *longue durée* reconsideration of how the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico organized themselves, exercised power, and coped with the immense challenge of Spanish colonialism through a combination of tactical modifications, remarkable continuities, and pragmatic concessions.

Pueblo Indians and Spanish Colonial Authority in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico revisits a number of strategies and coping mechanisms on the part of Pueblo Indians, such as "compartmentalization"—remaining secretive and aloof and retrenching into their communities in the face of growing Spanish control and demands—and "pueblification"—the flexible adaptation of discrete European elements or institutions that were more compatible with Pueblo practices and worldviews. Yet Brown goes well beyond these general observations to show how Pueblo men and women, elite or commoner, adjusted differently to Spanish colonial authority. Rather than a neat process that can be reduced to one or two simple generalizations, Brown offers a repertoire of behaviors and invites future scholars to identify yet more tactics that have allowed the Pueblo peoples to survive as a distinct people for the last 500 years. Brown's intention is not to reduce or sanitize but to complicate and describe this process in an open-ended way. In short, she wants to replace the received master narratives of Pueblo adaptation and survival with a more flexible approach that can accommodate the many different behaviors of Pueblo peoples that can still be found in the archival record.

Notwithstanding this fragmenting approach, the author actually focuses on a handful of Pueblo strategies. For example, central to Brown's discussion is the contention that the Pueblo political sphere was segregated between "foreign" and "domestic" affairs—that is, each pueblo evolved a political arena geared toward relations with Spaniards and a separate sphere more properly devoted to intra- and inter-Pueblo affairs. This separation of spheres not only allowed Pueblos to keep Spaniards in the dark about

their internal affairs but also had crucial class and gender consequences. For instance, Brown shows that one of the most consistent observations about Pueblo life throughout the colonial period is that elite males dominated the “foreign relations” sphere and generally excluded nonelite males and, above all, women. Women held informal or consultative roles, but (as much as it can be ascertained from the existing documentation) they did not play formal roles. Brown goes on to pose the crucial question of whether this pattern arose during the colonial period as a result of Spanish insistence on dealing with male Pueblo officials. The author’s assessment is that male dominance in the political sphere was a carryover from the precontact period that was then reinforced after the arrival of European outsiders who had clear gender notions about who should wield power.

In a subsequent chapter, Brown examines the alternative paths to power available to commoner women and men through sorcery and witchcraft. Because Pueblo women did not hold office in Pueblo government, they sought to gain power and prestige in a different arena by offering their healing services to Spanish women. Brown labels this type of sorcery and witchcraft “interpersonal” and draws a contrast to the ways in which commoner men exercised these same activities in a more “politicized” way with the aim of influencing Pueblo men in power. Once again, Brown finds some precontact precedents for these activities that were subsequently adapted to the Spanish colonial world. The final chapter is devoted to intimate relations and yet again demonstrates the multiple ways in which Pueblo peoples coped with church and government demands.

Pueblo Indians and Spanish Colonial Authority in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico forces us to rethink Spanish colonialism from the perspective of the Pueblo peoples conceived not as undifferentiated communities of Indians but as more realistic groups of commoners and elites as well as men and women. In the process, Brown offers a nuanced portrait of the Pueblo peoples and their struggles, internal divisions, and desire to endure and meet the challenge of colonialism.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088764

The Guarani and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History. By JULIA J. S. SARREAL. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014. Photograph. Maps. Figures. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 335 pp. Cloth, \$65.00.

In contrast to the Spanish-language literature, there are only a few rigorous studies in English on the Jesuit missions of Paraguay. This lack has been generally covered over by eloquent classics of apologetics such as *A Vanished Arcadia* (1901) by R. B. Cunningham Graham and *The Lost Paradise* (1975) by Philip Caraman or the many translations of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jesuit writings, which offer an oversimplified portrait of the Jesuit “state” of Paraguay. The recent turn in the historiography of the region emphasizes at least three aspects: the insertion of the Paraguayan case into a broader regional context, the complexity and internal contradictions of the Jesuit

missionary regime, and indigenous participation in the formation of the missions. Although ethnohistory and demography have played key roles in this turn, economic history had not made substantial contributions since the work of Magnus Mörner (1968), Juan Carlos Garavaglia (1983), Nicholas P. Cushner (1983), and Rafael Carbonell de Masy (1992). But these studies focused only on the Jesuit period and were marked by now resolved debates on the colonial system, the modes of production, and the expansion of the world economy. Julia Sarreal's *The Guarani and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History*, carefully edited by Stanford University Press, retrieves the central debates in economic history on Jesuit Paraguay, incorporating new topics and sources to the research agenda.

One of the book's main contributions has to do with the period considered, the eighteenth century, the moment of the transition from Jesuit rule to secular administration after the order's expulsion in 1768. This period involved radical changes in the administrative structure of the Spanish colonial system in general that directly affected the missions, which shifted from a paradigm of population and administrative segregation to a model of integration and assimilation based on the growth of agriculture, trade, and individual economic activities. This transition had not been sufficiently considered from a socioeconomic perspective. Sarreal analyzes the progressive breakdown and decay of the regime installed by the Jesuits, eradicated by the officials following the Jesuits with the aim of boosting the region. Through a thorough analysis of a variety of sources—mainly account books, inventories of goods, and population censuses—Sarreal describes the decline in the missions' production and work and identifies changes in patterns of consumption, distribution, and exchange. These transformations reveal a growing regionalization of the missionary economy in post-Jesuit times. Until then, the Jesuits had controlled an integrated trade system between missions and colonial cities, along with solidarity networks based on collective production. The sources used by Sarreal point to cultural aspects that the book mentions but does not analyze. For example, among the inventories of goods, Sarreal identifies the purchase of sombreros and Spanish-style clothing (chapter 7), which evinces a progressive Hispanization of the population, particularly the indigenous elite, during the period. Such a cultural detail interestingly broadens Sarreal's argument to include the reconstruction of prestige networks (a political economy) inside and outside the missions in the post-Jesuit era. The social life of these objects (their acquisition, circulation, and exhibition) is a topic that should definitely be addressed in future research.

Sarreal provides a very good balance between general, regional, and local levels, identifying causes and effects of successive crises affecting missions, the particular role of some mission towns (such as Yapeyú or San Miguel) in the attempt to recover from these crises, and the contradictions between the orders of central authorities and concrete local realities. The book combines strictly economic data with social and political aspects regarding conflicts between administrators, priests, caciques, and *cabildantes* in the post-Jesuit social structure. Sarreal shows that the indigenous elite actively participated in economic decision making (for example, by signing account books). Flight was also a common strategy among a segment of the indigenous elite after the Jesuits' expulsion. In short, Sarreal shows that liberal reforms produced the decline of the missionary regime

after the expulsion of the Jesuits. The book also includes a series of tables with economic and demographic information, plus a useful index of subjects and names and an updated bibliography.

As a specialist on the same period of transition, I would make a methodological observation. Sarreal's approach to the Jesuit period (chapters 1–4) is almost exclusively based on Jesuit official accounts, most of them published, which induce a suspiciously coherent view of the Jesuit period. This highlights a big contrast with her treatment of the post-Jesuit period, which is more abundantly, systematically, and rigorously documented and analyzed by means of mostly unpublished materials. It is my intuition that the use of *memoriales*, books of precepts, and letters between provincials, superiors, and general fathers—that is to say, internal documentation of the Jesuit order—would have probably suggested a more nuanced picture of the Jesuit period. This does not reduce the value of this important book, which will be useful for both students interested in having access to the research on Jesuit missions and scholars interested in the socioeconomic history of Latin America at the end of eighteenth century.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088776

La defensa del imperio: Julián de Arriaga en la Armada (1700–1754). By MARÍA BAUDOT MONROY. Colección Cátedra de Historia Naval. Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa; Murcia, Spain: Universidad de Murcia, 2013. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. 481 pp. Paper.

The *baylío* Julián de Arriaga occupied a central place in the governance of Bourbon America, serving as secretary of the Offices for Marine and the Indies from 1754 until his death in early 1776, by far the longest stretch for any minister. Yet little was known about this figure other than his reputation for exceptional rectitude and propriety, his conservative inclinations, and his faithful service to Charles III. His background has in general been an even greater mystery. The present volume by María Baudot, which addresses the young Arriaga, partially fills this void. The work began as a doctoral dissertation at Spain's Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia under the direction of the distinguished Carlos Martínez Shaw, and it was published through collaboration by the Spanish Ministry of Defense and the Cátedra de Historia Naval, directed by Juan José Sánchez Baena at the Universidad de Murcia.

Baudot divides her work into 13 chapters that address Arriaga's experiences chronologically, from his birth in 1700 and his family origins in Old Castile until his eventual appointment to the Secretariats for Marine and the Indies in 1754. She consulted the complex documentation for the topic principally in the Archivo General de Indias, the Archivo General de la Marina "Don Álvaro de Bázan," and the Archivo General de Simancas, as well as the Archivo Histórico Nacional and the Archivo del Museo Naval. The bibliography is exhaustive, and her treatment of the pertinent historiography is helpful.

Arriaga was a younger son in a large family of untitled provincial nobility, and accordingly he pursued an outside career, opting for a religious military life in the Order of San Juan de Jerusalén of Malta. *Sanjuanistas*, as they were called, took vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, and, as Baudot shows, they underwent rigorous naval training in the Maltese navy. Dedicated to cleansing the Mediterranean of North African corsairs, this fleet provided the young Arriaga with the opportunities he sought; he reached the category of baylío, the highest standing within the order. Although José Patiño had already established the Compañía de Guardias Marinas to train naval officers, sanjuanistas frequently transferred to the Armada; they assumed not only prominent roles in the military during the eighteenth century but also in the royal administration.

The methodological challenge that the author faced in illuminating Arriaga's years at sea and his rise to *jefe de escuadra* was the want of personal documentation and information. She addressed this by covering the services that his ship or squadron performed in specific actions or theaters. The result is an unexpected but excellent series of short, revealing histories of episodes in Spanish and Spanish American naval history, including two trade convoys to Veracruz, the Italian campaigns of the 1730s, the actions of Rodrigo de Torres's squadron in the Caribbean and Atlantic during the War of Jenkins' Ear, and the 1748–1749 expedition to suppress the pirates of Algiers. Moreover, she sets the scene for the baylío's original transfer to the Armada with a general account of its restoration under Philip V and in particular the contributions of Patiño. Baudot argues that the close ties that Arriaga developed with the powerful Marqués de la Ensenada, the secretary of finance, war, and marine and the Indies, ensured that his merits received proper recognition in the personalist climate of royal politics.

An officer with extensive American experience, Arriaga jumped to the top echelon of the royal administration when Ensenada selected him to suppress the León revolt that had erupted in Caracas in 1749. Baudot argues that his success in doing so, characterized by prudence, good sense, and a dogged dedication to royal service, led to his promotion to intendant general of marine and president of the Casa de la Contratación in Cádiz. Moreover, prior to transferring him from Madrid to Cádiz, Ensenada placed Arriaga on a series of select committees that Ensenada convened to address pressing issues in the Americas. Arriaga prevailed in defining the ultimate compromise that restored peace between the Caracas Company and the colonials; he also contributed prominently to shaping policy for combating British interlopers in Central America and to drafting a regulation for the proper conduct of Spanish corsairs. As marine intendant, he worked to bring La Carraca shipyard up to the standards that Ensenada's ambitious construction agenda demanded.

Baudot absolves Arriaga—who was in Cádiz at the time—of participation in or even knowledge of the treacherous plot, effected in 1754 by the Duke of Huéscar (the shady leader of the grandes), Minister of State Ricardo Wall, and British ambassador Benjamin Keene, that overthrew Ensenada. His succession to the newly divided Secretariats of Marine and the Indies, she argues, resulted from the insistence of King Ferdinand himself. However, to ensure the diplomatic neutrality that Wall's deceased predecessor, José de Carvajal y Lancaster, had cultivated, Wall usurped from the

Secretariat of Marine control over the naval budget and effectively derailed Ensenada's armament agenda. Consequently, Arriaga would operate within severe constraints until the succession of Charles III.

María Baudot is to be congratulated for her exhaustive work in charting the achievements of Julián de Arriaga, illuminating an unknown but critical part of the Bourbon century. The historical profession can only hope that she might someday proceed to research the baylío's long tenure in the service of Charles III.

ALLAN J. KUETHE, Texas Tech University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088788

The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713–1796. By ALLAN J. KUETHE and KENNETH J. ANDRIEN. New Approaches to the Americas. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Plates. Figures. Table. Notes. Bibliography. Index. vii, 397 pp. Paper, \$32.99.

Two forces shape the narrative of eminent historians Allan Kuethe and Kenneth Andrien in this insightful and well-researched analysis of the Spanish American world during the eighteenth century: war and reform. One of the main arguments of this study is that between the years 1713 and 1796, a clearly "symbiotic relationship" existed between the phenomena of war and reform that allowed the Bourbon dynasty to transform Spain from a composite monarchy into a more centralized state (p. 1). Using a chronological approach and different case studies, the authors develop an account of how the Spanish crown struggled to reform its empire. The different political conflicts in which Spain was engaged during the eighteenth century fundamentally helped to shape the reformist policies that the Bourbon kings and their ministers tried to put into effect in America. This reformist agenda responded not only to a desire for reorganizing and improving the colonial trade system and the revenue collection from their American possessions but also to the need for competing with Spain's rivals in Europe and across the Atlantic.

One of the most significant contributions of this study is its emphasis on the scope, aims, and accomplishments of the first two Bourbon kings. Although typically the first phases of the Bourbon reforms have not received the same amount of interest as those implemented after the accession of Charles III to the throne, lately, substantial studies dedicated to this earlier period have been produced. In this line of work, Kuethe and Andrien clearly demonstrate that the often-repeated idea that the reforms undertaken by Philip V and Ferdinand VI were inadequate, unplanned, and ineffective needs to be completely revised. Relying on untapped primary sources found in French diplomatic correspondence, the authors have managed to provide a new analysis of the achievements and significance of the early Bourbon reform policies. In addition to that, they have also challenged the widespread notion that the Caroline reforms of the century's end constituted a "second conquest" of America, as their vision explains how at the core of these reforms were deep political conflicts within Spain and the Indies (p. 25).

The Atlantic perspective that the authors place at the center of their analysis is also worth highlighting. Focusing on a wider Atlantic context to explain the process that

shaped the century-long course of reform of Spanish America, the authors offer a more nuanced description of how events in Spain and the Indies were linked and affected each other. The chronological division of the book provides a well-organized structure emphasizing the phases of the reforms and serves to highlight how the different initiatives launched by the Bourbon monarchs and their ministers, as well as the different political struggles that Spain had to face within its empire and against foreign forces in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic world, were at the bottom of the crown's policies for the different territories of Spanish America. Although the book heavily focuses on the process of reforming the transatlantic trade—and rightly so, because it was one of the main interests of not only Spain but also the other European powers—and the discontent triggered by it among the powerful *consulados* of Seville and Cádiz, it also provides helpful insight into the social dynamics of the American elites and the royal officials sent to the Indies to implement the crown's reformist agenda.

It could be argued that a more detailed explanation of the inner workings and prevalent dynamics of the colonial institutions would have helped to round out the picture of the reform process. The authors mention on several occasions how the general state of corruption inside *audiencias* and other colonial institutions was part of the problem that the reformers in Madrid wanted fixed, but they do not explain what was meant by this, or how we should interpret such claims, in sufficient detail.

Kuethe and Andrien have managed to produce an original and essential text for all those interested in an in-depth analysis of the Spanish American world during the eighteenth century. Scholars and students who want to better understand the complex evolution of Spanish America from the late Hapsburg era to the better-known age of reform under Charles III will benefit enormously from reading this study.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088800

The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico: Crowned-Nun Portraits and Reform in the Convent. By JAMES M. CÓRDOVA. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014. Photographs. Plates. Figures. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xvii, 252 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

Whenever a young woman in colonial-era New Spain opted to join a religious order for the remainder of her life, she did not simply escape the personal restraints of marriage; she became a “bride of Christ” through the solemn ceremony accompanying her profession of vows. Like weddings in the societal sphere, religious vows to the divine spouse were accompanied by pomp and circumstance; the new nun’s patrons commissioned her wedding portrait, a genre that came to be known as *monjas coronadas* (crowned-nun portraits).

The crowned-nun genre has mostly been examined for artistic style and iconography or for how it represented conventual life. James M. Córdova’s new monograph brings novel analysis, for its author seeks to explain why demand for these portraits

boomed in mid- to late eighteenth-century New Spain, as well as to account for how *novohispano* crowned-nun portraits differed from those in Europe or other regions of Spanish America. Córdova describes a cloistered world of porous walls, one in which indigenous and Euro-Christian traditions meld and in which nuns and their patrons “negotiate” more favorable terms with ecclesiastical reformers (p. 10).

Comparing and contrasting *novohispano* practices with the Euro-Iberian tradition of portraiture, he draws key conclusions: artistic influences flowed bidirectionally between metropolis and colony, the Iberian tradition of deceased-nun portraits influencing *americano* practice even as Europeans adopted floral-wreath iconography from New Spain (pp. 51–52); these portraits served a variety of purposes and uses, from historical record to exemplary spiritual model, from religious relic to family status symbol (p. 68); and, while general consistencies of format and iconography across religious orders “establish[ed] a kind of corporate religious identity among New Spain’s nuns” (p. 68), the genre also allowed for individuation through representation of family ties, social status, religious order, or particular convent (pp. 58–64).

Córdova cogently demonstrates that the crowned-nun portrait in New Spain is not reducible to Euro-Christian precedents—garden symbolism, wedding nuptials linked to the mystical life, or the image of Mary as *Tota Pulchra* (*Song of Songs*)—but is also a product of indigenous influences (pp. 101–18). Drawing evidence from artistic representations of indigenous marriage rites, colonial-era literary works on painting theory and practice, missionary texts (e.g., the Florentine Codex), and pre-Hispanic manuscripts (the Codex Borgia), Córdova shows how elements from indigenous culture persisted in *novohispano* practice. He notes, for example, the visual and conceptual “overlap” between elaborate headdresses of Aztec goddesses and those represented in crowned-nun portraits (p. 115). Other indigenous carryovers include the “flower mountain” motif (found in both Mayan and Teotihuacan art), the prominent place of birds and butterflies, and the occasional use of feather mosaics (in Nahuatl, *amantecayotl*). Attributing the prominence of such elements in portraits of Hispanic criollo women to the art-making role of indigenous servants, he argues that hybrid cultural forms emerged rather naturally in such a multicultural environment “where Spanish, Creole, African, Amerindian, and ethnically mixed women came into contact and expanded each other’s base of cultural knowledge” (p. 118).

Important to Córdova’s study is the distinction between calced and discalced religious orders and convents, for his central thesis is that monjas coronadas proliferated just when bishops implemented reforms that required communities of private-life nuns to adhere to the stricter regulations that already characterized the communal-life convents. Having been rebuffed in their protests against such reforms, some of the calced religious orders finally complied in a manner reminiscent of the well-known “obedezco pero no cumulo” of Spanish colonial administrators. As crowned-nun portraits became even more popular (see table, pp. 136–37), paintings of nuns from the formerly calced orders became more muted, less ostentatious. Even so, there persisted a certain accretion of accoutrements not specified yet permitted in the constitutions and rules of the religious orders in question. Picturing such continuity with their religious past implied that nun

and convent were in compliance with traditional interpretations of rule and constitution (pp. 142–44).

In an era of conventional reform, notes the author, “religious profession became a highly contested ritual” (p. 142). The resulting portraiture symbolizes agency on the part of nuns and the patronage networks of mutual dependence to which they belonged. However, as Córdova astutely observes, such agency was not intentionally subversive; instead, nuns and their patrons “strategically utiliz[ed] a vocabulary of mainstream gender norms to preserve some degree of autonomy and institutional culture for their religious communities” (p. 147).

Finally, Córdova situates these very popular eighteenth-century representations of nuns alongside other protonational symbols like Our Lady of Guadalupe. In response to the anticriollo prejudices of Bourbon reformers, the crowned-nun portrait was a visual assertion of “the unique religious character of New Spain” (p. 157). Yet interestingly, the monja coronada never appeared in hagiographies of New Spain’s holy women. Instead, printed images of nuns renowned for heroic sanctity privileged themes like penitence, enclosure, and humility, attitudes that endorsed male ecclesiastical authority (p. 164). However, located in the cultural interstices between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, the monja coronada genre represents a novohispano product that emerged when “artists, nuns, and patrons conflated local understandings of religious orthodoxy and practices with established cultural and pictorial conventions to produce New Spanish models of religious women’s spiritual distinction” (p. 165). Ironically, the author argues in conclusion, the increasingly popular hagiographic genre may have stimulated demand for crowned-nun art during the late Bourbon era “by animating society’s esteem for nuns” (p. 172).

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088812

Los mantuanos en la corte española: Una relación cisatlántica (1783–1825). By ALEJANDRO CARDENAS UZCÁTEGUI. Bilbao, Spain: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, 2013. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. 510 pp. Paper, €24.00.

In *Los mantuanos en la corte española: Una relación cisatlántica (1783–1825)*, Alejandro Cardozo Uzcátegui offers a complex portrait of elite Caracas society at home and abroad. These elites, known as *mantuanos* for their sumptuary privileges, and a new group of wealthy Venezuelans whom Cardozo Uzcátegui labels the *neo-mantuanos* created trans-oceanic networks of court patronage. During a time of growth in Caracas and great uncertainty in the empire, elites established “mapas humanos” in Caracas and Madrid that furthered their interests (p. 66). Employing the concept of “cis-Atlantic history” coined by David Armitage, Cardozo Uzcátegui investigates the mantuano search for a “patria común del Imperio” (p. 207) and reveals the tremendous difficulties in reconciling their aspirational identity with the apathetic reception that greeted them at the unstable, turn-of-the-century Spanish court.

After a brief introduction and an extensive literature review, the book's nine chapters are divided into four parts. The first part surveys the eighteenth-century historical characteristics of Caracas, profiles the city's elites, and examines the important reign of Francisco de Saavedra, the pro-creole second intendant of Caracas. Part 2 reveals the transatlantic connections between Caracas and Spain fostered by several elite families and assesses the actions and attitudes of Venezuelans who visited Spain. Part 3 first concentrates on Simón Bolívar as a case study of the *caraqueño* in the metropolis and then offers several theories for how caraqueño transatlantic connections disintegrated. Part 4 analyzes elite Venezuelans' reluctant movement toward revolution in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Cardozo Uzcátegui's work provides a multidimensional explication of the varied backgrounds, mentalities, and social networks of caraqueño elites, whom the author separates into mantuanos and neo-mantuanos. The former dated their preeminence back to the conquest. The tight-knit mantuanos continually worried about maintaining their primacy against a range of social climbers and depended on Madrid for political affirmation. Cardozo Uzcátegui notes that the long-standing mantuano dominance of peripheral Caracas did not translate into full acceptance into the courtly social circles of Madrid. By contrast, the neo-mantuanos whom Cardozo Uzcátegui profiles were the children or relatives of the Basques who had founded the Real Compañía Guipuzcoana de Caracas (the Caracas Company) in 1728. Over the course of the century, they had married into mantuano families. These unions offered commercial connections and more concrete claims to *limpieza de sangre* for old-line mantuanos while providing Basque newcomers with the landed gentry's ancient political and economic influence in Venezuela. Neo-mantuanos owned excellent haciendas, received commercial privileges from the Caracas Company, enjoyed preferential appointment of Basque company employees to Venezuelan governmental positions, and utilized Basque networks in Spain. It is little wonder that rising neo-mantuanos frequently fought with mantuanos over the direction of the Real Consulado de Caracas, the most prominent economic engine of late eighteenth-century Venezuela.

After introducing these elites, Cardozo Uzcátegui analyzes their experiences at court. For wealthy caraqueños and their sons at the turn of the century, visiting the metropole became a sine qua non to maintaining supremacy back home. Defense of business interests, pursuit of titles and colonial governmental posts, education, and the opportunity to undertake the grand tour of Europe all motivated elites. To be effectual, their visits required the patronage of well-established caraqueños or Spaniards who understood the intricacies of court and its social surroundings. Cardozo Uzcátegui devotes significant attention to a few of these figures, most notably Esteban Palacios y Blanco, an uncle of Simón Bolívar. Cardozo Uzcátegui argues that caraqueños developed conflicting emotions while at court. Mantuanos simultaneously felt a deep sense of belonging to a wider Spanish world and an anxiety over their creole origins. Cardozo Uzcátegui contends that a few individuals gained wider mental horizons by developing connections with major hubs of the Spanish Atlantic. No longer provincials, these mantuanos remained reluctant to abandon the empire until the independence movement forced their hand.

Cardozo Uzcátegui's study deserves praise for its nuanced portrayal of colonial elites. Likewise, in discussing their relationships with the Old World, the book succeeds in cultivating a cisatlantic perspective without neglecting the particulars of a dynamic, fin de siècle Caracas. Cardozo Uzcátegui's extensive collection of both archival and secondary sources allows him an intimate knowledge of elite families and their social constellations. This familiarity can be a problem at times. In general, Cardozo Uzcátegui assumes that his audience is knowledgeable regarding the detailed history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Venezuela, major figures of the mantuano elite, and specific anecdotes of Bolívar's life. The book rarely contextualizes the transatlantic networks of caraqueños alongside other colonial elites and makes no attempt to understand the mantuanos in relationship to other social classes of Venezuela. These criticisms aside, specialists in late colonial Venezuela as well as historians of patronage and familial networks will find the study informative for their work.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088824

105 días: El sitio de Pablo Morillo a Cartagena de Indias. By RODOLFO SEGOVIA. Bogotá: El Áncora Editores, 2013. Maps. Figures. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 323 pp. Paper.

The Spanish reconquest of Colombia required the capture of Cartagena, a military bastion that had never fallen to the enemy. Pablo Morillo laid siege to the city in mid-August 1815, finally forcing it to surrender on December 6. Though the account of the Colombian defense of the city is well known, Rodolfo Segovia adds considerable information to the Spanish side, with an emphasis on the leadership of Morillo, the composition and actions of his army, and the naval flotilla under the command of Pascual Enrile y Alcedo. Segovia makes extensive use of Spanish military archives, especially related to the naval campaigns of Enrile and the ground campaign of Morillo's army. The author is a good storyteller, with excellent skills at contextualizing and at providing enriching details of the campaign, reminding the reader of the fictionalized accounts by Patrick O'Brian set in the same era.

Segovia divides his work into ten chapters that follow a roughly chronological sequence. The opening chapter traces the rise of Morillo and other military officers in the European struggles around the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The next three chapters set the American stage, focusing upon the movement toward independence, the sovereign state of Cartagena, and the military exploits of Simón Bolívar. These chapters rely upon the extensive use of secondary sources and are especially attentive to the activities of rebel leaders in Mompox, Barranca del Rey, and Santa Marta, locations that will influence the success of the Morillo siege. Events in Venezuela occupy key roles in Segovia's analysis, especially when he compares the Venezuelan War to the Death with the more racially tolerant approach of military and political leaders in Cartagena. The fifth chapter narrates the formation of the expeditionary army in Spain

for the subjugation of the newly independent states. Here Segovia begins to add considerable detail based upon primary research, especially on the organization and size of the army and fleet that would transport the army and then lay siege to the city.

The core of Segovia's analysis comes in the final chapters, which trace the arrival of the army in Tierra Firme, the march to Cartagena, and the establishment of the siege. Segovia utilizes a traditional military history style of writing, supported by abundant and excellent maps of campaigns, troop movements, and naval encounters. Morillo is judged to be an astute field commander who had carefully considered the failure of earlier assaults upon the fortified city, which he deemed due to an inadequate naval blockade, limited numbers of army forces, and inattention to disease conditions on the lowlands surrounding Cartagena. Segovia's skillful use of military records demonstrates Morillo's purposeful steps to deploy his forces in an arc around the city and to develop sanitary field hospitals on elevated locations to offset poor water conditions and to provide fresh breezes to reduce the threat of yellow fever. Equally clear are tactics utilized by Enrile to close access to the city for corsairs and *bongos* with local foodstuffs. Segovia methodically traces the military actions, with special attention to the manner by which the Spaniards cut off food supplies to starve the city into submission. Particularly instructive are the coordinated naval and army actions to close the Canal del Estero, through which defenders of the city had their most reliable supply route. Segovia's account of the surrender of the city is somewhat anticlimactic given the level of detail given for other dimensions of the siege.

This is a fine work that should stand the test of time. Segovia writes clearly, with literary punctuations that add texture to the military account. The appendix on rebel and royalist actors is especially valuable. One wishes, perhaps, for another chapter that traces Morillo's leadership in the conquest of Bogotá and his brutal suppression of rebel leaders known in Colombia as the "reign of terror." While Segovia takes pains to demonstrate Morillo's refusal to use War to the Death tactics in the campaign against Cartagena, Morillo's subsequent conduct merits examination, in that most Colombians associate the Spanish general with that brutality.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088836

Slavery and Antislavery in Spain's Atlantic Empire. Edited by JOSEP M. FRADERA and CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT-NOWARA. European Expansion & Global Interaction. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 328 pp. Cloth, \$120.00.

The essays in this volume make an important contribution to understanding the process through which European empires shifted, as Seymour Drescher's aptly titled contribution puts it, "from empires of slavery to empires of antislavery" (p. 291). They do so by centering on Spain and its Atlantic empire. This focus results in the volume's most significant contribution and resounding statement: that the Spanish empire, far from

being “a case apart in the study of slavery and abolition” (p. 1), played an important role in the histories of slavery and antislavery in the Atlantic world.

Chronologically, the essays focus on the nineteenth century, when slavery (and antislavery) gained ground in the Spanish empire. The previous three centuries of Spanish activity in the Americas are collapsed in an essay by Josep Delgado Ribas that presents the evolution of the slave trade to Spanish America, emphasizing the logic that kept trade in goods separate from trade in slaves. An essay by Luiz Felipe de Alencastro on Portuguese Jesuits working on both sides of the Atlantic serves as a useful reminder that antislavery arguments had been advanced long before the nineteenth century. Geographically, the volume emphasizes two locations: Cuba and Catalonia. Essays on the central role of slaves in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata and the debates among sixteenth-century Portuguese missionaries regarding the morality and legitimacy of slavery and the slave trade (by Juan Carlos Garavaglia and Alencastro, respectively) add geographical diversity to the volume. Collectively, the essays emphasize that both slavery and antislavery took many forms and found a variety of justifications. In addition, while accepting a general transition from slavery to antislavery, the essays demonstrate that both advocates of slavery and proponents of antislavery always faced some level of opposition.

That the nature of slavery and antislavery was always debated is most clearly expressed in Ada Ferrer’s contribution. “Clearly,” Ferrer writes, “the nineteenth century was the antislavery century” (p. 135). It was also the century in which “slavery in Cuba underwent its most dramatic expansion” (p. 135). While Ferrer, as well as Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, Michael Zeuske, and Orlando García Martínez, turns this apparent contradiction into a nonparadoxical example of how slavery and antislavery were “mutually constitutive” and always in conversation (p. 144), Alejandro de la Fuente uses a multiplicity of cases of “entrepreneurial slaves” (p. 108) who took abusive masters to court to show that Cuban slaves were active participants in the often-heated conversation (as opposed to passive observers witnessing others talk about them).

The essays on Catalonia, a region that does not usually figure in accounts of the slave trade, slavery, and antislavery, are the most illuminating contributions. A group of historians from the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, where a conference that led to the volume was held in 2009, contributes essays that effectively link the slave trade and Cuba’s sugar revolution to Barcelona’s nineteenth-century industrialization. Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla follows the money to uncover the connection between slave-trade profits and the development of factories, banks, and insurance companies in Barcelona. In his essay, Barcelona appears as the center of a strong and politically influential antiabolitionist lobby whose efforts should be at least partially credited with the late abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico and Cuba. Albert Garcia Balañà’s analysis of the Barcelona-based anti-slavery tradition further demonstrates the book’s argument that slavery and antislavery were never discrete processes but were always antagonistic contemporaries.

Biographical sketches and prosopographical reconstructions help the authors make the editors’ case for the importance of focusing on the Spanish empire. Individuals like Francisco Arango y Parreño, Joseph Blanco White, Isidoro de Antillón, Francisco de

Borja, and Antonio López y López, as well as the many French technicians who settled in Cuba after the Haitian Revolution, the Catalan slave traders who became industrial magnates, and the Jesuits who debated the pros and cons of slavery and antislavery, allow us to understand that, despite being a “plantation latecomer” (p. 1), the Spanish empire was not in the peripheries of the contentious history of Atlantic slavery and antislavery. The abolitionist activism of Blanco White, Antillón, and Antonio Bergnes de las Casas—explored in the essays by Schmidt-Nowara, Josep Fradera, and García Balañà—needs to be recognized along with the antislavery contributions of better-known abolitionists such as William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and Toussaint Louverture. The strong proslavery and antiabolitionist arguments of Cuban planter Arango y Parreño (whose role in launching Cuba’s sugar revolution and in defending slavery against the attacks of Blanco White is analyzed by Ferrer and Schmidt-Nowara) and Catalan industrialist López y López (a representative of the Barcelona-based slave traders turned industrial magnates studied by Rodrigo y Alharilla) should be known by historians of the British Atlantic who, since the publication of Eric Williams’s *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), have been acquainted with the “West India interest” and its staunch defense of slavery and the slave trade. That many of the individuals introduced in the essays have remained at the margins of the history of slavery and antislavery in the Atlantic world is testament to the enduring power of political geographies to cloud our understanding of historical processes that cut across imperial borders and feature quotidian exchanges of goods, news, ideas, and knowledge, all of which made the Atlantic a transimperial geography of experience.

As is often the case with edited volumes, most of the essays point to monographs in the making that will further enrich our understanding of the ideological currents and on-the-ground experiences that shaped the history of slavery and antislavery in the Atlantic world. *Slavery and Antislavery in Spain’s Atlantic Empire* is a wonderful book that could productively be assigned to an undergraduate audience. Should a more affordable paperback edition be made available, this reviewer would adopt this enlightening volume.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088848

National Period

Artífices da cidadania: Mutualismo, educação e trabalho no Recife oitocentista. By MARCELO MAC CORD. Campinas, Brazil: Editora da Unicamp, 2012. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 440 pp. Paper.

In this carefully researched book, Marcelo Mac Cord traces the history of Recife’s Sociedade das Artes Mecânicas (Society of Mechanical Arts), later renamed the Sociedade dos Artistas Mecânicos e Liberais (Society of Mechanical and Liberal Artists), from its founding in 1841 to 1880, when the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (Arts and Trades School)

was formally opened. By then, the artisan society had received the privilege of adding "imperial" to its name, and Pernambuco's provincial government had placed it in charge of managing the school.

The society's founders were carpenters, stonemasons, coopers, and cabinetmakers who had close connections to the lay brotherhood of São José do Ribamar, which, until the liberal reforms of the 1824 constitution, had enjoyed the privileges of a guild (*corporação de ofício*). Led by master carpenter José Vicente Ferreira Barros, these members of Recife's building trades founded the society "to recreate lost privileges and to affirm their skills and virtue" (p. 30). In part a mutual aid society, the society also organized night classes for its members, and in these respects it can be seen as typical of the early labor movement. But the society maintained close ties to the old brotherhood: it met and held its classes in the church, and there was much overlap between the society's executive and the brotherhood's board of directors. The society embraced the midcentury Brazilian rhetoric of progress but challenged the fetish that favored foreign tradesmen and technicians. Through their advocacy of primary and technical education, these men of color (mostly described as *pardos* and *pretos*) challenged a provincial government that had failed to develop its education system and claimed respect for themselves as upstanding workers and citizens.

In painstaking detail, Mac Cord traces the society's internal politics, its difficult relationship with the brotherhood (which led to the society's expulsion from the church in 1866), its creative adaptation to the 1860 imperial legislation that regulated societies (and forbade them from having multiple purposes, a problem for a mutual aid society that also ran night classes), and its leaders' careful cultivation of connections to the Pernambucan political elite—what Mac Cord describes as "effective clientelistic strategies" (p. 227). Conservative leaders like José Tomás Nabuco de Araújo and Manoel do Nascimento Portela received honorary memberships, but in the 1840s, the society kept its distance from the radical liberal Praieiros who actively courted people like the society's members. Mac Cord argues that by espousing elite values of order, skill, and discipline, society leaders like Ferreira Barros effectively manipulated the provincial elite (p. 160). These efforts were crowned with success in the 1870s, when the close ties with the Conservative Party (in power from 1868 to 1878) won the society a privileged position in the new liceu's management. On an individual level, too, there were notable successes, and Mac Cord describes how the society and the liceu served as a "trampoline" to launch men like Ferreira Barros's sons into the lower-level civil service and prominent roles in the organization of provincial exhibitions (p. 374).

Heavily influenced by the work of E. J. Hobsbawm and E. P. Thompson on the English working class, *Artífices da cidadania* is a careful reconstruction of a fascinating urban group. It is an important contribution to the emerging literature on associational life in nineteenth-century Brazil. The artisans' struggles for professional and social recognition reveal much about imperial Brazil, including the importance of state patronage in urban society and the silence about race in public rhetoric. While Mac Cord carefully documents the *qualidade* (quality) of these men whenever it was recorded, there is no evidence that they talked publicly about race, an unsurprising silencing on the part

of men who sought to distinguish themselves from slaves and to conquer respect and recognition. Although part of the title, the theme of citizenship is developed more implicitly than explicitly. The painstaking research that went into this book is commendable, and sources include brotherhood and society registers, provincial legislative debates about the society, scattered newspaper reports, and even the documentation of at least some of these men's work on government contracts (few private construction contracts have survived). Like many good dissertations published quickly after the defense, however, it would have benefited from editing to make it more concise, as well as from a broadening of the perspective to reflect more fully on the significance of these Pernambucan artisans in Brazilian history. Stopping the book in 1880 leaves one wondering how these men steered their society through the 1881 electoral changes that disenfranchised most voters (no doubt including many society members) and the abolition campaign that arguably constituted Brazil's first mass political movement.

HENDRIK KRAAY, University of Calgary

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088860

For God and Revolution: Priest, Peasant, and Agrarian Socialism in the Mexican Huasteca.

By MARK SAAD SAKA. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013. Maps. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xxi, 186 pp. Cloth, \$50.00.

This book offers an illuminating narrative of the political and military history of the 1879–1884 peasant rebellion in the Huasteca Potosina. Mark Saad Saka argues that the worldview of rebel villagers facing dispossession during the railroad construction and land revaluations associated with later nineteenth-century capitalist modernization was shaped by their earlier militancy in struggles to create an independent nation and defend it from US and French invaders. In doing so, he seeks to provide further support for arguments about the contributions of peasants to nation building and state formation made by scholars such as Paul Hart, Florencia Mallon, Peter Guardino, and Chalmers Johnson. Challenging the reading of the rebellion by Huastecan elites as a “caste war” declared by infantile barbarians resisting modernity, Saka argues, paraphrasing Mallon, that defense of the *patria* produced peasant guerrillas “who had internalized nationalist consciousness as a means of promoting an agrarian struggle against their class enemies” (p. xx). The rebels’ embrace of the principles of federalism, regional and municipal autonomy, and an inclusive notion of citizenship manifested discursively in the way that their spokespersons framed expressions of moral outrage (in James Scott’s sense of this idea) when facing the dispossession promoted by liberal property laws; they adopted a language of rights that stressed patriotic sacrifice in war as well as past possession of lands and colonial guarantees.

The understudied case of the 1879 Huasteca rebellion is interesting for two reasons: firstly, because Porfirio Díaz initially enjoyed support because peasants accepted his pledge to defend their land rights against earlier liberal betrayals, and secondly, because once Díaz’s own betrayal became clear, peasants followed radical leaders whose projects

were framed in socialist and anarchist terms. Chapter 7 provides a detailed analysis of the thought of a key leader who escaped the bloodbath that ended the rebellion, the Catholic priest Mauricio Zavala. Yet the problem here, as in other parts of the book, is moving from a well-described general panorama to the specifics of the Huasteca case without assuming more than the evidence presented can justify. Saka records how rural priests played a significant role in earlier episodes of mobilization. He then explains Zavala's ideas in terms of a broader anticlerical and antihierarchical religious sensibility also associated with Protestants and Spiritualists (p. 119). It is important to understand the centrality of religious ethics to movements that espoused socialist and anarchist ideas well into the twentieth century. Yet despite a reference to the Cristero War on the first page of the introduction (p. xv), it is not clear that defense of religion or religious autonomy was an issue in the Huasteca in the way that it was later in the Cristiada or contemporaneously in highland Chiapas. The book sheds little light on the relationships between rebellious villagers, priests, and urban "outside agitators" whose role vexed regional elites (p. 135). We get to know something about Father Zavala's promotion of rural schools and personal patronage but little about village society in a broader sense; much about how Zavala imagined social justice, but little about how peasants interpreted his words or how far a sense of religious community underpinned willingness to fight. Understanding village society and interclass networks is essential for exploring why some peasants collaborated in rather than resisted liberal agrarian reform and why, throughout Latin America, rural people facing dispossession in the name of capitalist progress sought alliances with different kinds of elite forces in different contexts. Saka offers an excellent analysis of elite violence and tactics of dispossession, along with interesting insights into intraelite cleavages, but a lack of attention to the local interfaces is limiting.

The book is somewhat ambiguous on the significance of indigenous culture, despite beginning with a clear account of the colonial transformation of Teeneek society after Nahua and Otomi colonization of the area. Saka emphasizes the multiethnic and multiclass nature of the rural mobilizations of 1848, arguing that "the Huastecan anarchocommunists of Tantoyuca perceived themselves as the vanguard of the coming revolutionary storm that would sweep Mexico, Latin America, and the world" (p. 49), while also noting that the various "agrarian plans" of this period proposed different models for rural society and reflected differing local conditions (p. 48). He points out that Huastecan revolutionary leaders "fought for concrete material and political gains" (p. 116), but this is not the only reason why it may be risky to make claims for the world-historical scope of local struggles on the basis of the programmatic revolutionary discourses represented by plans, assuming that these reflect a generalized "radicalization." Nevertheless, radical ideas were clearly not untranslatable to indigenous people. Some such ideas undoubtedly resonated strongly with them. This book lays a valuable foundation for further research on the insurgent communities that Christian radicals sought to lead, including on the extent to which local cultures and cosmologies played a role in their imaginings of a better world.

JOHN GLEDHILL, University of Manchester

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088872

The Ailing City: Health, Tuberculosis, and Culture in Buenos Aires, 1870–1950. By DIEGO ARMUS. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. Photographs. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 416 pp. Paper, \$27.95.

In *The Ailing City: Health, Tuberculosis, and Culture in Buenos Aires, 1870–1950*, Diego Armus provides a sweeping analysis of how tuberculosis shaped modernity and urban life in Argentina's largest city during the period between the discovery of the disease's cause and the development of effective treatments through antibiotics. This period, in which tuberculosis was widespread, easily transmitted, and difficult to treat, was characterized by uncertainty and fear for both the sick and the well. Armus shows how concerns about tuberculosis permeated urban life and intersected with broader sets of political, social, and cultural issues linked to rapid change and modernization. He argues that Buenos Aires became home to a kind of subculture surrounding tuberculosis, which influenced the emergence of the social hygiene movement and the eventual development of the public health system.

Armus's analysis is organized thematically rather than chronologically, with chapters covering topics that span the time period. As a result, there is some overlap between chapters, but this potential drawback is far outweighed by what each chapter accomplishes. The first three chapters explore what it was like for ordinary people to be sick with the disease, what treatment options existed for them, and how they navigated, negotiated, and contested the choices available to them both within and outside institutional settings. These chapters also introduce readers to the moralizing discourses that were employed to judge whether the sick protected or threatened society through their behavior and self-care. Chapter 4 then shifts the focus away from patients to examine the emergence of tuberculosis as an issue of widespread public concern, tracing the disease's relationship to an expanding discourse on hygiene that cut across various political divisions and brought together medical professionals, civil society, and the state. Chapters 5 and 6 examine efforts to reduce tuberculosis transmission through the adoption of modern hygienic habits organized around values that included individual responsibility and through efforts to reduce behaviors and living practices associated with the disease. Included in chapter 6 is a nuanced discussion of the circumstances, factors, and forms of excess thought to predispose one to contagion. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 respectively analyze how concerns about tuberculosis shaped policies on the selection of immigrant groups to enter Argentina, ideas about health and proper behavior among women, and measures for promoting child health. A key feature of these chapters is a focus on the production of stereotypes linking tuberculosis to shifting ideas of race, gender, morality, overwork, poverty, and fitness. A brilliant final chapter then surveys how residents of Buenos Aires imagined individual and collective regeneration and liberation from tuberculosis in the future.

Armus's study excels not just as a history of tuberculosis but also as an urban history, a history of medicalization, and a history of hygiene. This last focus is a particular strength of the book, as Armus masterfully reconstructs the multiple and shifting understandings of hygiene present in Buenos Aires during this period. More generally,

tuberculosis serves as a means to examine processes critical to grasping the development of modern Buenos Aires and the ways that its residents experienced urban life. The disease itself does not always take center stage, and the different chapter subsections vary in their level of focus on tuberculosis. Armus, however, draws from a vast range of sources on the disease to document the complex politics and social relations that defined the city, as well as the shifting practices that sought to discipline modern urban subjects, order their daily lives, and transform them into what he calls "hygienic citizens." In the process, his research demonstrates the increasing prominence of medical authorities, even as they grappled unsuccessfully with biomedical uncertainties around tuberculosis. It also illustrates the growing role of the labor movement, civic organizations, and the state in matters related to health.

Armus insists in his introduction to *The Ailing City* that he intended it to be a local study and that he has no pretensions of making it speak to the larger agendas of historians of international and global health. The reasons behind this decision are certainly sensible and even admirable, and it is true that the value of Latin American case studies should not be judged on the sole criterion of their relevance for understanding larger international and transnational processes. At the same time, one might ask whether something is also lost in adhering rigidly to such a position and in not at least situating tuberculosis in Buenos Aires more solidly within a literature on the history of the disease in Latin America and elsewhere. At times, the story seems insular, even though there are occasional references to ideas, practices, and technologies brought to Buenos Aires from abroad. This narrow focus in an otherwise outstanding work may leave some readers wishing that they could more easily connect it to a larger historical narrative of health.

ADAM WARREN, University of Washington

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088884

Los japoneses en Bolivia: 110 años de historia de la inmigración japonesa en Bolivia. Edited by IYO KUNIMOTO. La Paz: Plural Editores, 2013. Maps. Figures. Tables. Bibliography. Index. 359 pp. Paper.

Japanese scholars and Japanese leaders of Bolivia have assembled a groundbreaking community history that spans the entire twentieth century across the country's diverse regions, each with a separate trajectory of Japanese diaspora, settlement, and integration. Originally conceived for a Japanese audience to celebrate more than a century of migration history, this Spanish-language edition was translated with the hope that second- and third-generation Bolivian Japanese who do not read or speak Japanese could learn about their occluded past. In addition to providing historical narratives on the last century, the authors also comment on contemporary activities and challenges for Bolivian *dekasegis* in Japan as well as Japanese Bolivian community associations.

This volume is written for a popular audience, so archival documentation is sparse and uneven. The novelty of a text like this does not preclude the existence of other work on the Japanese presence in Bolivia, especially Taku Suzuki's *Embodying Belonging* (2010),

an English-language text about Okinawan Bolivians. Other sources in English include a scattering of book chapters and other academic, medical, and popular articles. Even fewer sources exist in Spanish. Japanese-language sources are much more numerous and span from government reports to independent academic inquiries, as the bibliography to this book attests. Most importantly, the book offers a look at historical narratives constructed by Japanese Bolivian associations and their perspective on contemporary challenges, such as emigration, economic sustainability, and cultural retention.

The book is divided chronologically. Each chapter, written by a separate author, describes the historical development of a specific region's Japanese community: early gatherings in the Amazon basin, labor migrations in and around La Paz, colonization in the remote departments of Beni and Pando, the post–World War II colonization projects of Okinawans and other Japanese in San Juan. The book concludes with an overview of Japanese Bolivian *dekasegis* in Japan. The unique strength of this text is its documentation of regional diversity and community-level narratives of diaspora; no other source provides this depth and scope.

Bolivia's Japanese population (including multiethnic individuals) has only numbered in the ten thousands; however, these relatively small numbers should not discount this population's contributions to Bolivian economic development throughout the twentieth century. The chapter division of the book corresponds with the multifarious diasporic streams that constitute Japanese Bolivian ethnic and regional diversity. The Japanese in Bolivia share the typical pre- and post–World War II periodization of the Japanese diaspora, although two things set Bolivian Japanese apart: first, pre–World War II migrations of Bolivia's Japanese were much more circuitous and ambulatory across South America (gathering from Peru, Argentina, and Brazil), and second, Bolivia was one of the first Latin American countries to establish formal relations with Japan after World War II (1952), making it the site of focused immigration and state-sponsored colonization beginning in 1953. This development corresponds with the political transformation of Bolivia during the long revolution beginning in 1952. Throughout the book, the role of Japanese colonization in the contentious Bolivian revolution is left unexamined. In fact, little can be gleaned of the broader Bolivian context. This curious reviewer hoped for more analysis of this context, but this is not the goal of the book.

The publication of this book represents not only the degree of institutionalization in Japanese Bolivian community associations and their transpacific ties to Japan but also the budding scholarly and economic interest in transpacific Asian–Latin American interactions. This edited volume makes valuable contributions to the social history of the Japanese in Bolivia. Yet, for as much as the book does to fill a historiographical void in the study of Bolivian history, it leaves so many provocative narratives, events, and cultural formations unexamined. To be clear, the book never set out to provide a theoretically robust analysis of Japanese Bolivian participation in Amazonian capitalism or the cultural formations of Bolivian racial nationalism. Nevertheless, readers interested in these topics will find many intrigues in the stories told by these Japanese Bolivians. While this text fulfills a community's need to tell its own history, this surprisingly diverse volume begs for more serious scholarly attention to the subjects of Japanese-Bolivian

intermarriage (and their subsequent multiethnic progeny), Japanese interactions with indigenous Amazonians, the role of Japanese colonization in the expansion of capitalism in Greater Amazonia, and the intersection of Japanese ethnicity and Bolivian discourses of national racial modernity.

JASON OLIVER CHANG, University of Connecticut

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088896

Cuban Identity and the Angolan Experience. By CHRISTABELLE PETERS. New Directions in Latino American Cultures. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 230 pp. Cloth, \$85.00.

Cuba has lots of touchy subjects, and Angola is one of them. Foreign policy scholars, political leaders, *trova* singers, and filmmakers have debated Cuba's Angola experience, often bitterly. So too of course have the 25,000 veterans and the survivors of thousands of deceased soldiers. Cuba's decision to send troops has been hailed as the blow that brought an end to South African apartheid and has been condemned as yet another example of its status as hapless Soviet puppet.

Wandering into this thicket is not something to be undertaken lightly. Literary scholar Christabelle Peters attempts to apply insights from recent encounters between cultural studies and political science to explore the Angola story from a different perspective. Fueled by the conviction that visual images, metaphors, and cultural narratives matter in relations between states, Peters's book explores both the African presence in Cuban society and "how that Africanicity informed, and was itself influenced by, internationalism in Angola" (p. 2). She argues that "a nation's mythology constitutes one of the most imaginative and articulate carriers of ideology" (p. 3). Thus the book reviews African "myths, metaphors, and iconology" in Cuba in order to explore the connections between "mystical and mutable conceptualizations of Africa" and more conventional understandings of social and political relations (p. 3).

Reading a variety of sources—chiefly films, material culture, archival documents, fiction, and poetry—Peters arrives at the conclusion that Angola was indeed transformative, but not just for southern Africa. Military intervention in Angola was motivated by political beliefs—internationalism—but, Peters argues, it "set in motion ideology's transformative capacity," creating "a new idealized image of what it meant to be Cuban" (p. 7).

This approach doesn't break the logjam between Washington's Cold War perspective that Cubans were necessarily "out-of-place" in Angola and the Cuban leadership's argument for internationalism and Latin-African identity as the basis of their involvement (p. 1). But it does open some interesting avenues for reconceptualizing actors, sources, and agency in international relations, a project that engages scholars in many disciplines and parts of the world.

Peters takes her readers on a bumpy ride. The book leaps from African- or slavery-themed Cuban films to poetry and archival discoveries. At one point, there is a

memorable encounter with the ghost of Walter Rodney in an archive in Santiago de Cuba. At times the story careens, almost randomly, through a determinedly nonnarrative selection of sources. Occasionally Peters's decision to draw from her own (seemingly) unfiltered research diary undermines her: she is breathless, complains about the heat, the odors, the power outages—in short, she allows herself to sound whiny. However, she also conceptualizes a great “atlas of *Africania*,” as she terms it. She compiles an itinerary of locations generally considered as repositories of African presence in Cuba, and then she follows it, almost from one end of the island to the other. These chapters are an adventurous journey (in all senses) through what she terms two realities: “the material world comprising all the tangible objects associated with the preservation of Afro-Cuban culture (museums and their artifacts, books, journal articles, speeches, and so on) and *lo intangible*, the realm of imagination, beliefs, feelings, and emotions” (p. 176). There is a lively chapter on Caribbean unity and another on Santeria.

It’s unlikely that foreign policy or international relations scholars will be persuaded by this extremely eclectic study. As selective as it is in its evidence, it is also notable that Peters doesn’t explore those Cubans who opposed Cuba’s Angolan involvements. But as a cultural meditation on the relationship between an overseas war and national and racial identities, this book contains some sophisticated thinking. Peters concludes that the “physical and pragmatic experience of internationalism, as well as extensive diplomatic contacts with newly liberated African nations . . . produced a more holistic image of the continent and a closer rapport”; Angola was just one example of how “Africa was simultaneously demystified and elevated in Cuban discourse” (p. 157).

KAREN DUBINSKY, Queen’s University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088908

Fluent Selves: Autobiography, Person, and History in Lowland South America. Edited by SUZANNE OAKDALE and MAGNUS COURSE. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014. Photograph. Map. Figures. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xii, 319 pp. Cloth, \$75.00.

The ten essays in *Fluent Selves: Autobiography, Person, and History in Lowland South America*, edited by Suzanne Oakdale and Magnus Course, present the tense relation between cultural forces and personal agency, between individual particularities and cultural diversity or the universality of human sociability. But this is not an abstract discussion. In line with one of the most valuable aspects of the anthropological tradition, the contributors consider this question with reference to ethnographic materials, collected in this case in different parts of lowland South America (Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, and Chile), and with attention to native voices. The intensive use of autobiographical narratives (in some essays more than others) makes the book germane to those interested in discourse as a social practice both situated and at the same time linked to multiple aspects of social life in every group.

One essay examines the biography of a Waorani leader with a porous identity into which other individuals are incorporated and for which victimization is a marker of

personhood and sociability. The topics of other essays include family stories of the Asháninka, a group whose members conceive of the person as an active seeker of external resources; Piro (Yine) narratives of “exemplary personal experience” that are special cases of simultaneous self-singularization and multiplicity; the meaning of the multiple persons of a young Marubo shaman; paradoxical models of Mapuche personhood as described in song and ritual; speech-centered stories about encounters between Kalapalo enemies; the “lascivious” autobiography of a Tukano leader; the logic of assemblage in the autobiographical narrative of a Kawaiwete “captain”; the stressful life of a Xavante leader who has lived between two worlds; and the story of a Kuikuro leader. Together, they illustrate the complex and variable relations of personal exchange that characterize anthropological research.

The collection’s interest in narrative practices illustrates the centrality of language as a privileged symbolic expression of the categories of self, individual, and person, including how they overlap and how they differ. The essays point to autobiographies as re-creations of personal experience and communicative bridges between social worlds. There are questions as to whether these categories are particular or transcultural, and if so, in what sense. Are there multiple experiences of self? If so, are they comprehensible to us? How are they related to the long and complex history of contact between lowland South American Amerindian societies and colonizers? Are these narratives history or myth? Does that distinction help us to understand them? What is the role of the person who elicits or records the story, and what is the legacy of the relationship between researcher and research subject? What is the role of narratives in the construction of personal and ethnic identities not based on the well-known opposition between tradition and modernity, identities that are hybrid and open to participation? The narratives discussed in this collection are presented in light of all these questions and as ways to structure experience and to understand traumatic events and historical context. They problematize the use of history and myth, as well as the autobiographical form, as evidence for concepts of self and person and as mechanisms for constructing social relations inside and outside the community.

The example of the Asháninka of Peru’s central Amazon region, Selva Central, which is examined in Hanne Veber’s essay “Memories of the Ucayali: The Asháninka Story Line,” illustrates the value of focusing on a narrative’s manner of presentation, on the model of a person that it depicts, on the ways in which conceptions of time are entangled with what it means to be a person, and on the interethnic context within which it is presented rather than on narrative as an account of “what really happened” (p. 109). Collective memories are not mechanical copies of reality but constructions that emerge from social interactions in which personal, historical, and political consciousness are formed. Asháninka narratives contrast with stories told by missionaries and other outsiders on one crucial point: the former’s stories about the rubber boom do not recount individual victimization and heroism. They model family rather than collective identities. While they recount a series of events that made for a difficult journey, they differ radically from myth. The Asháninka regard outsiders as potentially dangerous, but they consider contact necessary in order to obtain resources. They think of themselves not as

victims but as seekers of resources who assume necessary risks—including but not limited to colonial contact—and thus confront danger and loss. In this sense, their narratives are more than simple retrospectives. They are structured and retold in order to organize their vision of a world not fully or exclusively imposed by bosses and gringos but open to the influence of their own actions as well (p. 113).

MYRIAM JIMENO, Universidad Nacional de Colombia

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088920

Fire in the Canyon: Religion, Migration, and the Mexican Dream. By LEAH SARAT. New York: New York University Press, 2013. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xi, 241 pp. Paper, \$25.00.

El Alberto, a small town in Hidalgo state, has gained renown for its Caminata Nocturna, a staged reenactment of undocumented border crossing into the United States. This blend of ecotourism and agitprop attracts urban tourists and journalists. It also drew Leah Sarat, a scholar of religious studies, to look closely at El Alberto over the past 50 years. This Otomi- (or *bñähñu-*) speaking community features a distinctive religious landscape: the majority consider themselves Pentecostal (nationally, only 7 percent of Mexicans identify as Pentecostal). Today, about half of what was once the town's total population now lives in the United States. This engaging case study explores the deep connections between migration, community, and religious change. Crossing, we learn, is "a deeply religious matter" (p. 3).

Fire in the Canyon reads largely as a microhistory, based upon interviews and fieldwork in El Alberto and its satellite churches in Phoenix. Residents and migrants provide an intimate look at three intertwined phenomena: the effects of the Mexican miracle on this remote community, the local turn first to internal migration and then cross border migration, and the shift to Pentecostalism. These processes started almost simultaneously after 1960 and quickened in the 1970s.

Before 1960, El Alberto was an impoverished, isolated place. Most residents were monolingual *bñähñu* speakers. Elders recall that drinking and witchcraft plagued the community. Children were vulnerable to illness. Neither institutional Catholicism nor the Mexican government had much influence. The Miguel Alemán presidency launched regional development initiatives in 1951, but they affected El Alberto only gradually. Some townsfolk responded to the extreme poverty by seeking work via circular, internal migration. Prior to 1970, most sought work in Hidalgo state. Later, migrants ventured to Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Tijuana. Men worked in construction, and, if close enough, they returned home on weekends. Women generally worked as live-in maids. They recall being underpaid but also gaining confidence and Spanish-language skills as they lived away from home for months, even years, at a time. Internal migration allowed parents to purchase shoes for their children but failed to alleviate deeper poverty.

Evangelical religion took root in El Alberto in the same era. Returning migrants from the United States established Pentecostal churches in Pachuca and Ixmiquilpan in

the 1920s and 1930s. (Forthcoming work from scholar Daniel Ramírez offers greater historical depth on pioneering proselytism by repatriated migrants.) Sarat's book ably recounts individual conversion stories from the 1960s. In almost every instance, conversion began as individuals sought ways to "overcome illness, restore harmony, and survive" (p. 31). Sarat ponders whether, given a backdrop of negligible clerical influence and shallow Catholic piety, the changes occasioned by Vatican II were too little and too late to truly engage local Catholics. El Alberto Catholics recall the Pentecostals' emergence. New evangelicals, for example, challenged the annual fiesta of the Santa Cruz, taunting those who processed with the holy image. Eventually, the Catholic Church moved the primary fiesta to December 12, thus accommodating the schedule of ever-increasing numbers of migrants. Pentecostalism, meanwhile, spread via family and neighbors. In the 1970s and 1980s, converts prayed for water, roads, and electricity while they also organized for these ends. At last, government development programs bore tangible results: irrigation, public health measures, and schooling finally came to El Alberto. These developments, according to local Pentecostals, meant that "God had answered their prayers" (p. 61).

In the 1990s, El Alberto migrants began to seek work in the United States—where half of the community currently lives. Sarat writes movingly of the rising challenges of undocumented migration in the face of US border militarization. As part of a "theology of migration" (p. 124), Pentecostals use prayer and worship to prepare for the journey. Sarat did not research local Catholic practices to the same degree, yet rich traditions of devotion to San Toribio Romo and the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos show how Catholics have also approached migration within a religious framework. In this vein, sociologist Jacqueline Hagan's *Migration Miracle: Faith, Hope, and Meaning on the Undocumented Journey* (2008) offers a commendable exploration of overlapping evangelical and Catholic beliefs and practices among Latin American migrants.

Sarat finds that indigenous notions of the sacred persist in El Alberto's Catholics, as well as among "devout Protestants, [whose] stories brim with indigenous Mesoamerican elements" (p. 103). They worship to fend off traditional evils such as *susto*, *malos aires*, and witches, as well as more modern, globalized concerns. Pentecostals envelop themselves in the congregation's protective circle to counter perceived malevolence both in El Alberto and the United States.

Fire in the Canyon will engage readers at all levels with its accessible prose and memorable life stories. The chapter on the Caminata Nocturna should especially interest undergraduate students with its unique perspectives on border crossing. While I wish that Sarat had attended more to archival sources and scholarship on Mexico's religious history, the book stands on its own merits. Sarat conveys the great dedication to community that persists in this town, despite all the divisions that it faces—of religious factionalism, modernization, and, most of all, immigration.

DEBORAH E. KANTER, Albion College

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088932

Rhythms of the Pachakuti: Indigenous Uprising and State Power in Bolivia. By RAQUEL GUTIÉRREZ AGUILAR. Translated by STACY ALBA D. SKAR. Foreword by SINCLAIR THOMSON. Latin America in Translation / en Traducción / em Tradução. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xlviii, 284 pp. Paper, \$25.95.

This gripping book monitors the surge of popular mobilizations that disrupted Bolivia's neoliberal regime and opened the way for Evo Morales's ascent to power in the tumultuous years between 2000 and 2005. Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar, a Mexican mathematician involved in Left politics there, traveled to Bolivia in the mid-1980s, where she plunged into the sizzling culture of revolutionary and neoindigenist politics in La Paz. According to Sinclair Thomson's elegant and insightful foreword, Gutiérrez Aguilar "acquired a quasi-legendary status there as an intense, brilliant activist and radical intellectual" whose solidarity networks extended into Central America's concurrent liberation struggles (p. ix). As veteran activist and friendly critic of Bolivia's popular movements, the author exudes a sense of passion and urgency as she tries to wrest the larger historical and ideological meanings from Bolivia's most recent cycle of political rupture and transformation. Part political memoir, part social analysis, this hybrid text offers the reader an insider's critical reading of why and how Bolivia's emancipatory politics overwhelmed neoliberalism, inverted relations of power (in a metaphorical *pachakuti*, or world turned upside down), and (arguably) came to constitute "the most successful example of the recent struggle 'against' capital and 'against' the state in Latin America" (p. 188). Indeed, the book's overarching purpose is to show that "the Bolivian uprisings were the most radical . . . of anti-neoliberal struggles that have emerged in Latin America since the beginning of the twenty-first century" (p. 186). That claim rests not on any analysis of policy or institutional outcomes at the state level, or even on a comparative analysis of Latin American antiglobalization movements. Rather, the author stakes her claim on what she sees as the novel ideological and political work (new repertoires of political organizing and new projects for social emancipation) that emanated from the very process of popular mobilization and struggle in Bolivian regions beginning around 2000.

The study is divided by theme and chronology into two sections. Part 1 plumbs the depths of the three regional popular movements, examining the organizational and ideological mortar that held them together and projected their collective goals onto the national screen. The author identifies distinctive features that infused emancipatory meanings and social agency into each of the three popular movements she profiles. In Cochabamba, the popular struggle for the public right to water was built around an extraordinarily participatory organ, La Coordinadora, which introduced new ways of "making politics" and new "horizon[s] of meaning" without succumbing to the rigidities of union, class, or ideology (pp. 25–26). In contrast to the Quechua valley mobilizations, Aymara peasant politics in the altiplano were fueled and framed by the cultural discipline and communal ethos of highland communities. In 2003, Aymara people organized and sustained massive roadblocks, marches, and occupations of the capital city while they put forth popular agendas for fundamental change in the nation's political order. In the

semitropical Chapare, on the other hand, coca growers (*cocaleros*) deployed the tools of militant union organizing and “illicit” coca production while also pursuing electoral strategies, eventually building their own mass party (the basis of Morales’s Movement toward Socialism, or MAS). In part 2, how these three popular regional movements converged during the explosive year of 2003 is chronicled in exhaustive detail. We are made privy to “the new emancipatory goals for social transformation that had been growing up to that point” (p. 127), as well as the “weakness that limited the emancipatory potential for the uprisings over time” (p. 126). Diagnosing the movement’s internal dynamics, the book lays out the political “compromises and ‘catastrophic balance’” that finally brought down the neoliberal regime of Gonzalo Sánchez de Losada and opened the way for Morales’s 2005 election.

Unfortunately, the narrative ends abruptly at that culminating moment. This is a function of the fact that, as political history, this text is now somewhat dated. Thanks to Duke’s Latin America in Translation series, the original 2008 Spanish-language version is now available in beautifully rendered English, but the author gives only a proverbial nod to the epochal changes and tensions that have buffeted Bolivia’s political culture and institutional climate since 2005. Indeed, the author’s explicit aversion to Leninist notions of revolutionary “state power” (and her critical view of Morales’s state-centered and extractivist policies) opens a curious void in a study like this one, which purports to examine the relationship between “indigenous uprising and state power.” Instead, the author explores the internal workings of popular politics, as well as the ideological contours of her own “*interior horizon*” (p. xx). This book provides a platform for this author/activist to reexamine theory and praxis of popular movements, including the very notion of “social emancipation” that emerged from, and shaped, the ethos of community-popular forms of struggle (p. xxii). In such passages, the reader might well imagine herself in a smoky salon with erstwhile comrades debating the meaning of emancipation and the potential for an inverted order of things as they try to figure out what, pragmatically speaking, comes next. There seems to be an internal dialogue going on here, at least in the book’s extended preface, that is a bit obtuse. That said, this book—as political memoir and social analysis—offers an intriguing inside view of the kinds of issues that drove debate among a few members of the intellectual vanguard during Bolivia’s most recent cycle of popular unrest.

BROOKE LARSON, Stony Brook University

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088944

Subterranean Struggles: New Dynamics of Mining, Oil, and Gas in Latin America. Edited by ANTHONY BEBBINGTON and JEFFREY BURY. Peter T. Flawn Series in Natural Resource Management and Conservation. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 343 pp. Cloth, \$60.00.

It is tempting to resort to the old cliché that “the more things change, the more they stay the same” upon first encountering Anthony Bebbington and Jeffrey Bury’s volume on

extraction in Latin America. The editors are acutely aware of the possibility, explaining explicitly what is new about this cycle of mining south of the US border. As it turns out, there is plenty that is novel, despite the fact that mining (if not oil) has a 500-year history in Latin America. There is good reason why the editors call the extraction boom that started in the 1990s a “super cycle,” what others call mega-mining. The territorial scale of mining projects is staggering, as open pit mines tear holes in the ground the size of villages. There are theoretical and empirical changes, also, that make this collection a primer to understand what extractive industries are doing in the Andean countries, the true focus of the publication. The book is also an excellent map of how communities are responding to the challenges that they face.

The book consists of ten essays and a conclusion, with the first essay acting as introduction and theoretical framework. The specific countries represented are Peru (three essays), Bolivia (two), and Ecuador (two), with two essays taking a comparative look at the Andean countries in general and Latin America as a whole. The publication is the result of several conferences and meetings by geographers, but it is not limited to academics; Latin American activists and individuals engaged in debates about mining and oil projects contributed pieces too. The objective of the volume is to investigate “subterranean struggles,” a play on both the fact that mining and oil rest belowground and that the conflicts that extraction generates are hidden from public view. Bebbington and Bury make the case, as well, that investigating extractive industries will enrich the field of political ecology. They exhort colleagues to take the subsoil seriously and bring political ecology to bear on real-life cases of struggle—or simply debate—about the benefits and costs of extraction on such a massive scale.

The essays tackle specific case studies. The Peru essays focus on three. One of the essays is on the conflicting claims over the Cordillera Huayhuash, where a Japanese mining company and community-based ecotourism outfits are at odds over national park designation and land use. Another one analyzes the conflicts that Occidental Petroleum unleashed in indigenous communities on the Río Corrientes in the Peruvian Amazon. The third examines four cases of mining and oil extraction in separate regions of Peru, highlighting how water has become a crucial battleground for those communities in light of retreating glaciers, heavy-metal contamination, and agricultural irrigation demands. The Bolivian essays look at mining and gas activities from two different perspectives. The first examines the idea of nature in the construction of the Bolivian nation, scrutinizing the governance of extraction in the twentieth century, including the notion of resource nationalism applied to the reassertion of state control over the subsoil under Evo Morales. The second zooms in on mining and gas production in Chiquitanía. The essay documents the previously undisclosed diversion of natural gas from the Cuiabá pipeline, built by Enron and Shell to export gas to Brazil, toward a Canadian mine such that ultimately no gas was exported to Brazil. The idea is to point out that extraction projects must be seen in relationship to other economic activities that they may be linked to in any given area. Regarding Ecuador, the contributors look at two cases. One piece investigates how the conflicts over a Canadian gold mine in El Pangui permeated all aspects of daily life in the community, as members split over how to respond to the project in light of the

military protection that Rafael Correa's government gave to the corporation. The second essay considers the question that the community of Azuay faces: water or gold, highlighting the dilemma that mining creates in the Andes in general.

Within each contribution, the authors review the communities' response to extraction. Historic tactics of protest, mobilization, and confrontation are coupled to new discourses about ecology, science, human rights, indigenous identity, and the rights of nature and the earth. The essays show as well how communities seek to bring their struggles from subterranean obscurity into the light of day. Thus the same appeal that the editors make to political ecologists applies to environmental historians: it is overdue that we study the subsoil and the struggles of peoples involved in protecting their livelihoods, environments, and cultures from increasingly rapacious extractive interests.

MYRNA SANTIAGO, Saint Mary's College of California

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088956

La historiografía costarricense en la primera década del siglo XXI: Tendencias, avances e innovaciones. Edited by DAVID DÍAZ ARIAS, IVÁN MOLINA JIMÉNEZ, and RONNY VIALES HURTADO. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial UCR, 2014. Figures. Tables. Notes. x, 324 pp. Paper.

Since the 1980s, Costa Rican historians have developed a trend of systematically reflecting on their research and writing. This volume is the latest step in that trend. It groups together the papers presented at the 2010 conference entitled Primer Seminario de Historiografía Costarricense, Siglos XIX–XXI. While the book's title emphasizes the first decade of the twenty-first century, several of the essays extend their analysis as far back as the 1970s. Most of the authors are well known within the country's historiography, and all of them have written detailed and informative essays.

The volume contains 13 chapters: 3 of them present general considerations about Costa Rica's historiography and its historians, while the remaining 10 focus on specific fields. Lowell Gudmundson wrote the first of the general essays, mixing remembrances of his academic experiences in 1970s Costa Rica with reflections on how to move the national research agenda beyond country-specific issues. Gudmundson advocates for engaging with history's big questions, and he considers a few topics that demonstrate his approach's usefulness. This essay will be especially inspiring for scholars and students looking for fresh ways to engage familiar topics.

David Díaz Arias penned another of the general chapters. Beginning his analysis in the 1970s, he looks at the works that have examined Costa Rica's historical writing. His main goal is to establish whether these works have successfully uncovered the political and ideological agendas that, according to Díaz, infuse historical research. In the third general essay, Iván Molina Jiménez aims to determine whether Costa Rica's history has become professionalized during the last four decades. First, he establishes some of the scholars' features, including education, professional careers, political and sexual preferences, gender, productivity, and geographic, ethnic, and social origin. Then, he assesses

their writings in terms of quality and impact at the national and international levels. Overall, these three chapters deliver provocative and unique takes on their topics.

The ten remaining essays deal with six specific fields: colonial, economic, social, gender, and environmental history, as well as archaeology. There are four essays that, just like the general ones, begin their analyses in the 1970s: the ones on colonial history by Elizet Payne Iglesias, on gender and women's history by Eugenia Rodríguez Sáenz, on gender history and masculinity by Mauricio Menjívar Ochoa, and on environmental history by Patricia Clare Rhoades, Anthony Goebel Mc Dermott, and Francesca Rivero Gutiérrez. The long-term approach of these essays will be an asset for people not familiar with Costa Rican historiography. The remaining portion of this volume contains chapters that concentrate on writings from this century's first decade.

All the chapters that deal with specific fields present a thorough review of their subject, placing a strong emphasis on topics and authors. Except for environmental history and archaeology, there are two essays examining each of the fields. These pairs complement each other successfully, hence providing a more nuanced sense of their topics. These features make the volume very useful for anybody who is planning to start research on Costa Rica, searching for information to use for comparative studies, or wanting to update their knowledge on a specific field, period, region, or author. To enhance the book's utility, however, future editions should include a comprehensive bibliography; currently, references appear solely in each chapter's footnotes, making them hard to find.

Despite their strengths, the ten chapters that concentrate on specific fields share a drawback: they fail to systematically address the controversies and debates currently moving their fields forward. There are, nonetheless, a few cases in which these considerations arise. One of them is Patricia Alvarenga Venutolo's essay on social history, and another is Eugenia Rodríguez Sáenz's chapter on gender and women's history. The first author summarizes discussions dealing with the impact that the 1940s social reforms had on the interactions between elites and subordinate groups (pp. 201–2). The second author explains the debates surrounding women's political participation before their enfranchisement in 1949 and the Communist Party's role in promoting or preventing this participation (pp. 252–54). Future revisions would benefit greatly from including each field's most important debates, hence adding to an already invaluable resource for scholars and students alike.

Taken together, these essays show how productive historical research in Costa Rica has been during the last four decades.

ALEJANDRA BOZA VILLARREAL, Universidad de Costa Rica

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088968

International and Comparative

Cables, Crises, and the Press: The Geopolitics of the New International Information System in the Americas, 1866–1903. By JOHN A. BRITTON. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 473 pp. Cloth, \$60.00.

In the twenty-first century, it can be difficult to appreciate the truly revolutionary nature of the telegraph. The nearly instantaneous nature of communication on a practically global scale had no precedent. Gutenberg's press ushered in an era of broad and, later, mass distribution of ideas, and improvements in sailing technology and the later invention of steamships hastened the movement of people, goods, and ideas. Neither, however, could compete with the telegraph for immediately connecting distant places. Daniel Walker Howe's brilliant *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (2007) even uses the advent of the telegraph as a focal point for understanding the United States in the early to mid-nineteenth century. John A. Britton's *Cables, Crises, and the Press* is not nearly as ambitious, but it is a welcome contribution to our understanding of the introduction of a foreign technology to Latin America in the nineteenth century.

Britton has not produced a comprehensive study of new forms of communications, nor is his book an analysis of the promises and pitfalls of modernity in transforming Latin American nations or the region. *Cables, Crises, and the Press* is instead a series of discrete case studies that demonstrate how more immediate forms of communications shaped the press, especially in the United States, and therefore international and domestic politics in a number of Latin American nations. Britton's case studies include US-Chilean relations, US interventions in Central America and the creation of Panama, the Venezuelan border crisis, and the Spanish-American War. As this list shows, Britton is primarily interested in the ways that new technologies changed reporting about international conflicts and how that reporting in the United States and Great Britain affected policy.

Britton analyzes how the near-immediacy of access to information changed the practice of foreign relations. Decision makers in the United States and Europe now had access to accurate information in time to craft policies and act on them quickly. Telegraphic communications also altered journalism, which in turn affected domestic and international politics. This is clearest in Britton's case study of the Spanish-American War, but it can also be seen in more subtle ways in the other episodes that he studies, particularly the Venezuelan border dispute with Great Britain that drew in the United States. Although *Cables, Crises, and the Press* uses technology as a central focus, the book really makes its important contributions in the field of diplomatic history. Britton's analysis of how the telegraph sped up and at times changed the decision-making process should be embraced by scholars of inter-American relations. Yet one of the book's main strengths is also a weakness. Rather than producing a monograph with a clear thesis or set of theses, Britton has written a series of discrete chapters in the history of inter-American relations. Although this distracts from the experience of reading a tightly focused book, it

also makes *Cables, Crises, and the Press* a work that many scholars should consult when dealing with its various diplomatic and military episodes.

The iron law of book reviews requires me to include some additional and potentially unfair criticisms, so please consider the following in that context. Perhaps this book's biggest weakness is its failure to consider the ways in which a technology that promised to draw the world closer together—like most introduced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—ended up atomizing the region even more. Distant communication links were with Europe and the United States rather than within or among Latin American nations. Moreover, Britton focuses on conflicts, which has some real advantages that he exploits, but he could have also studied the impact on commodity production and prices, foreign investment, and even fashion and ideas that the use of these modern forms of communications had. Having said that, *Cables, Crises, and the Press* is an original and thoughtful work that Latin Americanists should consult going forward.

JOEL WOLFE, University of Massachusetts Amherst

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3088980

Open Borders to a Revolution: Culture, Politics, and Migration. Edited by JAIME MARROQUÍN ARREDONDO, ADELA PINEDA FRANCO, and MAGDALENA MIERI. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2013. Photographs. Figures. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xiii, 275 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

While a number of works have been written about the influence of the United States on the Mexican Revolution, this collection of essays turns the tables by analyzing the influence of the Mexican Revolution on the United States, with emphasis on its cultural impact. As the subtitle indicates, the collection takes on a wide variety of topics; the editors indicate up front that a “notable variety of subject matter” will be covered (p. ix). *Open Borders to a Revolution* has its origins in an academic symposium held in 2010 to commemorate the centennial of the Mexican Revolution. The book is divided into two sections: “Traveling Borders” and “Living Borders.”

“Traveling Borders” examines the revolution’s transnational influence on history, culture, and politics. This section covers primarily the 1920s and 1930s but does not follow a chronological order. The period produced three of the most influential writers on Mexican affairs: Ernest Gruening, Frank Tannenbaum, and Carleton Beals. The writings of sympathetic commentators and the dispute over property rights brought the Mexican Revolution into the mainstream of US public opinion. The community of US intellectuals in Mexico City helped to make the Mexico City environment part of the political culture of the United States. The period also featured an “invasion” of the United States by Mexican art (p. 48), a development encouraged by both the Mexican and US governments. This invasion proved to be one of the most important Mexican influences on the United States. The growing American interest in events in Mexico also penetrated Hollywood. Adela Pineda Franco examines the effort of Hollywood to make a movie biography of Pancho Villa in the face of Hollywood’s “all-pervading transnational force” (p. 91). Filmmakers had trouble harmonizing Villa’s image with that of the

actor portraying him, the popular Wallace Beery. The movie production started evolving to fit Beery, and the film reinforced stereotypes of Mexicans rather than helping to eliminate them. Although the movie turned a profit, critics denounced its derogatory treatment of the Mexican Revolution. Jaime Marroquín Arredondo analyzes two famous short stories by Katherine Anne Porter whose critique of the revolution classified it as a failure. Mary Kay Vaughan and Theodore Cohen examine the contributions of composer Carlos Chávez and artist/ethnographer Miguel Covarrubias to the blending of art and ethnography.

The second section of the work, "Living Borders," focuses on the "social, cultural, and political experiences that take place on the fringes of nationhood" (p. viii). Focusing on the two Laredos—Laredo, Texas, and Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas—Yolanda Padilla emphasizes the importance of including the Mexican American response to the revolution—the "other novel(s) of the Revolution"—in the historiography of the revolution (p. 134). The novels of the revolution written in Mexico disclose a nationalistic viewpoint, while the "other" novels have a transnational orientation. David Dorado Romo examines the revolutionary legacy of another famous border town, El Paso, Texas. He focuses on south El Paso, the Segundo Barrio area of El Paso. Instead of relying on archival materials, Romo uses buildings and "sites of memory" as his sources. Although there were no military engagements in El Paso, the city played a major role in a variety of ways in the revolution. A zest for urban renewal threatens Romo's sources; one historic hotel was torn down to make way for a Burger King. Border towns are also the topic of Oswaldo Zavala's examination of the revolutionary roles played by Ciudad Juárez and El Paso. Events in the two cities are often connected to the activities of Francisco Villa. While Juárez was the target for several revolutionary factions, Zavala stresses the May 1911 battle in which Villa played a prominent role, most notably by refusing to follow Francisco Madero's orders that the rebels not attack Juárez. Elaine Peña provides another tale of two cities when she examines how the two Laredos dealt with the question of holding the annual George Washington Day celebration with a bloody revolution going on next door. The author sees the discussions and the decision to hold the celebration as an important example of "identity negotiation" in the borderlands (p. 191). Alma Martínez Carranza's essay analyzes the play of Luis Valdez, *The Shrunken Head of Pancho Villa*. Valdez sees Villa's head as a metaphor for the separation of Chicanos and Mexican immigrants from their Mexican culture and history.

The volume opens with an interview with John Womack Jr. and closes with an excellent afterword by Gilbert Joseph. Each essay features extensive notes and a bibliography. While collections of essays sometimes have problems with coherence, *Open Borders* ties together well, especially in section 2, "Living Borders." The work as a whole will be of interest to borderlands specialists, while individual essays may appeal to a larger audience.

DON M. COERVER, Texas Christian University

doi 10.1215/00182168-3088992

Why Walls Won't Work: Repairing the US-Mexico Divide. By MICHAEL DEAR. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 270 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.

In this richly textured volume, geographer Michael Dear draws on diverse sources and literature across the humanities and social sciences to show how a third nation at the US-Mexican border has evolved historically and how it has confronted recent dramatic changes in the region. Dear powerfully contends that the wall at the boundary eventually will fail because the zone long has been characterized by coherence and cooperation. Although they have shifted, these practices continue in the face of both the Mexican drug wars and increasing US border security measures. The book's tight, clear prose and structure—beginning with historical context and moving to current debates—builds toward the overarching argument against walls. Dear offers persuasive reasons why they won't work, including the long history of border thinking and collaboration across the divide.

Immediately setting up the unequal power relations that have shaped the region, Dear points out that Mexico never forgets its lost land while the United States takes for granted the vast territory that it gained. In outlining the historical formation of the area, Dear uses nineteenth-century reports and surveys, in addition to studying the interesting shifts in the history of monuments and markers at the boundary. But the book starts long before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and problematizes the notion of beginning at the moment of division.

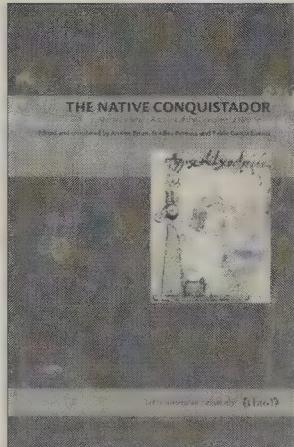
Drawing on original research and on the work of historians including Oscar Martínez and others, Dear shows how the borderlands, though at the edges of both nations, are critically important to each. Demonstrating how local and regional norms exist in tension with national imperatives, the book is about border people and national policy. The US security and immigration dramas and the Mexican drug wars did not originate in the borderlands. Yet these evolving crises disproportionately affect those residing there. The book contextualizes these events but keeps the main focus on the people who occupy the third nation. Impressively, Dear spent over two years journeying along both sides of the 4,000-mile border. Owing to the timing of his research, he saw the boundary's fortification by the United States unfold before his eyes. He lucidly describes the immense transformations at the line by the early 2000s alone and how those who live in the borderlands have handled them. The system of US fortification, which Dear calls "the Wall," has not—and will not—cut off economic ties and communication among the people who live in the area. As the book demonstrates, when we take a long view of the history of the borderlands, the Wall is an aberration. Offering a complicated view of the drug wars, Dear shows how the US border industrial complex has some common interests with the cartels. He considers the long-lasting influences of the Prohibition era on the region. The book explores the effects of a pervasive, normalized *narcocultura* on border people's psyches. Addressing the severe problems facing the Mexican state in light of the drug wars, Dear ultimately takes a hopeful stance. Without glossing over the troubles and dangers that exist, he argues that Mexico is neither a narco-state nor a failed state.

Why Walls Won't Work charts how the residents of two nations have forged a third nation and its importance to both the United States and Mexico. It provides a history of cultural blending in the borderlands and a look at the great multiplicity of border residents. Taking a transnational approach, the book includes a myriad of voices and perspectives from both sides of the border. It offers vivid accounts of local continuities and differences across the zone. Centering on the citizens of the third nation, Dear asserts that they will be crucial to the future of the two countries and that they can teach us a great deal about humanity. Specialists, students, and general readers interested in the history of and current debates concerning the region should find this volume useful and compelling.

JULIA MARÍA SCHIAVONE CAMACHO, Sarah Lawrence College

DOI 10.1215/00182168-3089004

Latin American Originals



The Native Conquistador

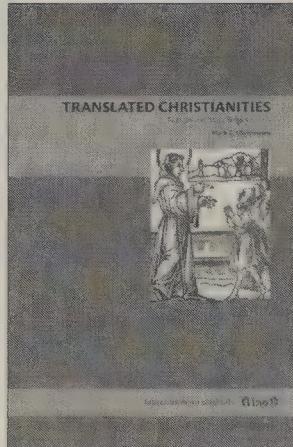
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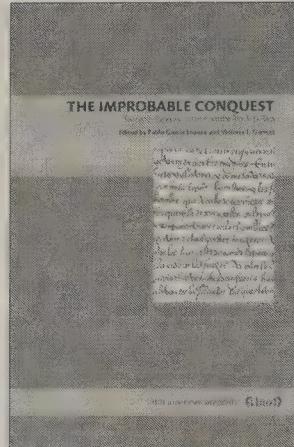
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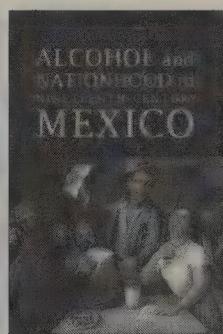
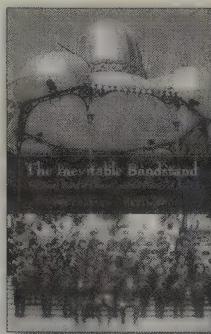
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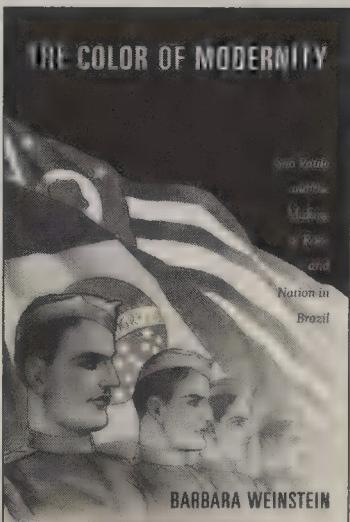
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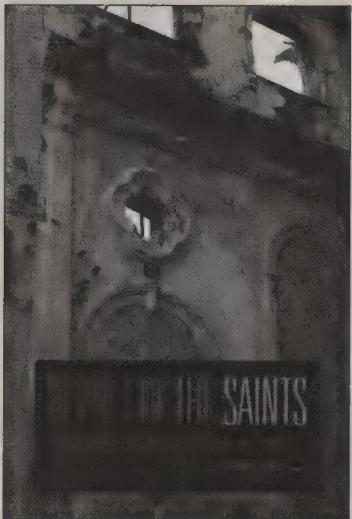
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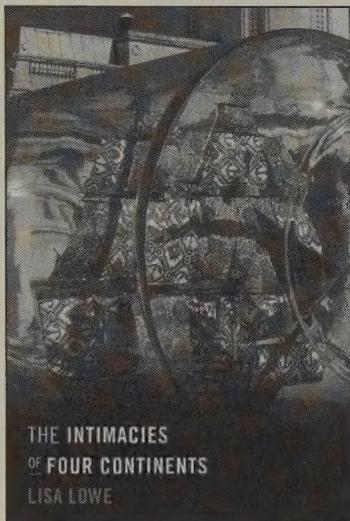
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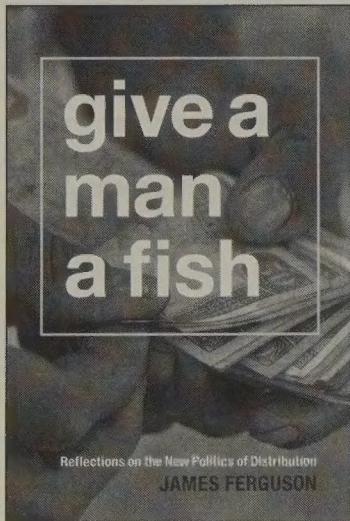
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The *Hispanic American Historical Review* (ISSN 0018-2168) is published quarterly, at \$534 for (print-plus-electronic) institutions and \$44 for individuals, by Duke University Press, 905 W. Main St., Suite 18B, Durham, NC 27701. Periodicals postage paid at Durham, NC, and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Box 90660, Duke University Press, Durham, NC 27708-0660.

Vol. 95, no. 3 (August 2015)
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ISSN 0018-2168

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